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Early English Text Society.

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A PLAY ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND
AT THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY.

EDITED BY

LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B.

(FROM MR. GURNEY'S UNIQUE MACRO MS. 115).

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIES.

LONDON:

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THE Early English Text Society was started by Dr. Furnivall in 1864 for the purpose of bringing the mass of Old English Literature within the reach of the ordinary student, and of wiping away the reproach under which England had long rested, of having felt little interest in the monuments of her early language and life.

On the starting of the Society, so many Texts of importance were at once taken in hand by its Editors, that it became necessary in 1867 to open, besides the *Original Series* with which the Society began, an *Extra Series* which should be mainly devoted to fresh editions of all that is most valuable in printed MSS. and Caxton's and other black-letter books, though first editions of MSS. will not be excluded when the convenience of issuing them demands their inclusion in the Extra Series.

During the forty-one years of the Society's existence, it has produced, with whatever shortcomings, and at a cost of over £30,000, an amount of good solid work for which all students of our Language, and some of our Literature, must be grateful, and which has rendered possible the beginnings (at least) of proper Histories and Dictionaries of that Language and Literature, and has illustrated the thoughts, the life, the manners and customs of our forefathers and foremothers.

But the Society's experience has shown the very small number of those inheritors of the speech of Cynewulf, Chaucer, and Shakspeare, who care two guineas a year for the records of that speech. 'Let the dead past bury its dead' is still the cry of Great Britain and her Colonies, and of America, in the matter of language. The Society has never had money enough to produce the Texts that could easily have been got ready for it; and many Editors are now anxious to send to press the work they have prepared. The necessity has therefore arisen for trying to increase the number of the Society's members, and to induce its well-wishers to help it by gifts of money, either in one sum or by instalments. The Committee trust that every Member will bring before his or her friends and acquaintances the Society's claims for liberal support. Until all Early English MSS. are printed, no proper History of our Language or Social Life is possible.

The Subscription to the Society, which constitutes membership, is £1 1s. a year for the ORIGINAL SERIES, and £1 1s. for the EXTRA SERIES, due in advance on the 1st of JANUARY, and should be paid by Cheque, Postal Order, or Money-Order, cross 'Union Bank of London,' to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N. Members who want their Texts posted to them, must add to their prepaid Subscriptions 1s. for the Original Series, and 1s. for the Extra Series, yearly. The Society's Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists: but Members can get back-Texts at one-third less than the List-prices by sending the cash for them in advance to the Hon. Secretary.

The Society intends to complete, as soon as its funds will allow, the Reprints of its out-of-print Texts of the year 1866, and also of nos. 20, 26, and 33. Dr. Otto Glauning has undertaken *Seinte Marherete*; and Dr. Furnivall has *Hali Meidenhad* in type. As the cost of these Reprints, if they were not needed, would have been devoted to fresh Texts, the Reprints will be sent to all Members in lieu of such Texts. Though called 'Reprints,' these books are new editions, generally with valuable additions, a fact not noticed by a few careless receivers of them, who have complained that they already had the volumes. As the Society's copies of the *Facsimile of the Epinal MS.* issued as an Extra Volume in 1883 are exhausted, Mr. J. H. Hessels, M.A., of St. John's Coll., Cambridge, has kindly undertaken an edition of the MS. for the Society. This will be substituted for the Facsimile as an 1883 book, and will be also issued to all the present Members.

Dec. 1905. The Original-Series Texts for 1904 were 1. No. 124, *Twenty-six Political* (t. Hen. V) and other Poems from the Digby MS. 102, &c., edited by Dr. J. Kail; 2. No. 125, Part I of the *Medieval Records of a London City Church* (St. Mary-at-Hill), A.D. 1420-1559, copied and edited by Mr. Henry Littlehales from the Church Records in the Guildhall, the cost of the setting and corrections of the text being generously borne by its Editor. This book has shown the income and outlay of the church; the drink provided for its Palm-Sunday players, its officers' excursions into Kent and Essex, its dealing with the Plague, the disposal of its goods at the Reformation, &c., &c., and has helped our members to realize the church-life of its time. The third Text was Part I of *An Alphabet of Tales*, a very interesting collection of stories for Sermons, &c., englished in the Northern Dialect, about 1440, from the Latin *Alphabetum Narrationum*, and edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks from the unique MS. in the King's Library in the British Museum.

The Original-Series Texts for 1905 will be, 1. No. 127, Part II of the *Alphabet of Tales*, edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks; 2. No. 128, Part II of the *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, edited by Mr. Henry Littlehales, who will pay for its setting, as he did for that of Part I as well as its 5 Facsimiles; 3. No. 129, Part I of the englishing, ab. 1450 A.D., of the Deeds in the *Register of Godstow Nunnery*, edited from the unique MSS. by the Rev. Andrew Clark, LL.D. These deeds throw much light on the early social state of England. Among the Texts for 1906 and 1907 will be Part III of the *Alphabet of Tales*, edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks, Part II of the *English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, and the *English Register of Oseney Abbey*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark, and Part I of the *Coventry Leet Book*, copied and edited for the Society by Miss M. Dormer Harris—helped by a contribution from the Common Council of the City: it will be published by the Society as its contribution to our knowledge of the provincial city life of the 15th century. Future Texts will be Part III of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, edited by Dr. Furnivall, with a Glossary of Wm. of Wadington's French words in his *Manuel des Pechez*, and comments on them, by Prof. Dickson-Brown; Part II of the *Exeter Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—re-edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A.; Part II of Prof. Dr. Holthausen's *Vices and Virtues*; Part II of *Jacob's Well*, edited by Dr. Brandeis; the Alliterative *Siege of Jerusalem*, edited by the late Prof. Dr. E. Kölbing and Prof. Dr. Kaluza; an Introduction and Glossary to the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* by H. Hartley, M.A.; Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue*, edited from the unique MS. Univ. Coll. Oxford MS. No. 85, by Mr. J. W. H. Atkins of Owen's College. Canon Wordsworth of Marlborough has given the Society a copy of the Leofric Canonical Rule, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, Parker MS. 191, C. C. C. Cambridge, and Prof. Napier will edit it, with a fragment of the englished Capitula of Bp. Theodulf: it is now at press.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1904 were 1. the *Macro Plays of Mankind, Wisdom, and the Castle of Perseverance*, edited from Mr. Gurney's MS. by Dr. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, M.A.; 2. Lydgate's *DeGuilleville's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Part III, edited by Miss Katharine Loeck; and Dr. E. A. Kock's edition of Lovelich's *Merlin* from the unique MS. in Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, Part I. Those for 1905 will be 1. *Respublica*, A.D. 1558, A Play on the Social Condition of England at the Accession of Q. Mary, edited by Leonard A. Magnus, LL.B.; 2. Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail*, Part V, a capital summary of the rise and development of the Legend of the Graal, by Miss Dorothy Kempe; 3. *Myrc's Festival*, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. Erbe, Part I.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1906, &c., will be chosen from *The Owl and Nightingale*, two parallel Texts, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes; Dr. Erbe's re-edition of *Myrc's Festival*, Part II; Dr. M. Konrath's re-edition of *William of Shorcham's Poems*, Part II; Prof. Erdmann's re-edition of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (issued also by the Chaucer Society); Miss Rickert's re-edition of the Romance of *Emare*; Prof. I. Gollancz's re-edition of two Alliterative Poems, *Winner and Waster*, &c., ab. 1360, lately issued for the Roxburghe Club; Dr. Norman Moore's re-edition of *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London*, from the unique MS. ab. 1425, which gives an account of the Founder, Rahere, and the miraculous cures wrought at the Hospital; *The Craft of Nombryng*, with other of the earliest englished Treatises on Arithmetic, edited by R. Steele, B.A.; and Miss Warren's two-text edition of *The Dance of Death* from the Ellesmere and other MSS.

Dr. Brie of Berlin is editing the prose *Brut* or *Chronicle of Britain* attributed to Sir John Mandeville, and printed by Caxton. He has already examined more than 100 English MSS. and several French ones, to get the best text, and find out its source.

These Extra-Series Texts ought to be completed by their Editors: the Second Part of the prose Romance of *Melusine*—Introduction, with ten facsimiles of the best woodblocks of the old foreign black-letter editions, Glossary, &c., by A. K. Donald, B.A. (now in India); and a new edition of the famous Early-English Dictionary (English and Latin), *Promptorium Parvulorum*, from the Winchester MS., ab. 1440 A.D.: in this, the Editor, the Rev. A. I. Mayhew, M.A., will follow and print his MS. not only in its arrangement of nouns first, and verbs second, under every letter of the Alphabet, but also in its giving of the flexions of the words. The Society's edition will thus be the first modern one that really represents its original, a point on which Mr. Mayhew's insistence will meet with the sympathy of all our Members.

Later Texts for the Extra Series will include *The Three Kings' Sons*, Part II, the Introduction &c. by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner; Part II of *The Chester Plays*, re-edited from the MSS., with a full collation of the formerly missing Devonshire MS., by Mr. G. England and Dr. Matthews; Prof. Jespersen's editions of John Hart's *Orthographie* (MS. 1551 A.D.; blackletter 1569), and *Method to teach Reading*, 1570; Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Soule*, in English prose, edited by Prof. Dr. L. Kellner. (For the three prose versions of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*—two English, one French—an Editor is wanted.) Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finish all the Texts that the Society ought to print. The need of more Members and money is pressing. Offers of help from willing Editors have continually to be declined because the Society has no funds to print their Texts.

An urgent appeal is hereby made to Members to increase the list of Subscribers to the E. E. Text Society. It is nothing less than a scandal that the Hellenic Society should have nearly 1000 members, while the Early English Text Society has not 300!

Before his death in 1895, Mr. G. N. Currie was preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Lord Aldenham's MS., he having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS. But Mr. Currie, when on his deathbed, charged a friend to burn all his MSS. which lay in a corner of his room, and unluckily all the E. E. T. S.'s copies of the Deguilleville prose versions were with them, and were burnt with them, so that the Society will be put to the cost of fresh copies, Mr. Currie having died in debt.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pèlerinage de l'Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36.¹ Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it,² a revision of which was printed ab. 1500. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330-1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Sion College, London; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740.³ A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library:⁴ "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herrtage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,⁵ Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pèlerinage* into a prose *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.⁶ By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentioned, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pèlerinage de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englished in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englishing of Deguilleville's

¹ He was born about 1295. See Abbé Goussier's *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX, p. 73-4.—P. M. The Roxburghe Club printed the 1st version in 1893.

² The Roxburghe Club's copy of this 2nd version was lent to Mr. Currie, and unluckily burnt too with his other MSS.

³ These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.

⁴ Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.

⁵ According to Lord Aldenham's MS.

⁶ These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

ABC or Prayer to the Virgin, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has 2 main gaps, besides many small ones from the tops of leaves being burnt in the Cotton fire. All these gaps (save the A B C) have been filled up from the Stowe MS. 952 (which old John Stowe completed) and from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. Thanks to the diligence of the old Elizabethan tailor and manuscript-lover, a complete text of Lydgate's poem has been given. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4399¹, and Additional 22,937² and 25,594³) are all of the First Version.

Besides his first *Pèlerinage de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguileville wrote a second, "de l'ame separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Soule* (with poems by Hoccleve, already printed for the Society with that author's *Regement of Princes*), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,⁴ at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, and Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Soule* will be edited for the Society by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner after that of the *Man* is finished, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Lord Aldenham's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the *Pilgrimage of Jesus*, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. The other MSS., except the Paris one, being interlinear versions,—some of the Roman-Latin redaction, and some of the Gallican,—Prof. Logeman has prepared for press, a Parallel-Text edition of the first twelve Psalms, to start the complete work. He will do his best to get the Paris Psalter—tho' it is not an interlinear one—into this collective edition; but the additional matter, especially in the Verse-Psalms, is very difficult to manage. If the Paris text cannot be parallelised, it will form a separate volume. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of the Examiners, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The net profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found valuable incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be looked on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Laud 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of *Ælfric's* prose,⁵ Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of *Ælfric's* Metrical Homilies. The late Prof. Kölbing left complete his text, for the Society, of the *Ancren Riwle*, from the best MS., with collations of the other four, and this will be edited for the Society by Dr. Thümmeler. Mr. Harvey means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the *Earliest English Metrical Psalter*, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Prof. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent, the late Professors Zupitza and Kölbing, the

¹ 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.

² 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.

³ 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame*: both incomplete.

⁴ Ab. 1490, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny, &c.—and damned souls, fires, angels &c.

⁵ Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the *Ælfric* Society, are still in stock.

Of the *Vercelli Homilies*, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.

living Hausknecht, Einkenel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandeis, Sieper, Konrath, Wülfing, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann and Dr. E. A. Kock; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser (alas, now dead);—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Austria, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Miss Rickert, Profs. Mead, McKnight, Triggs, Perrin, Craig, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

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Respública,

A.D. 1553.

A PLAY ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND
AT THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY.

.

EDITED BY

LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B.

(FROM MR. GURNEY'S UNIQUE MACRO MS. 115).

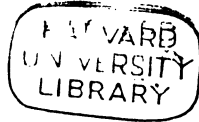
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIES.

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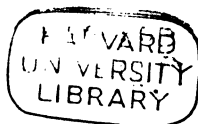
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INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. THIS interlude of *Respublica* is one of the Macro Plays. The manuscript has been kindly lent by the owner, Mr. J. H. Gurney of Keswick Hall near Norwich, and (we are quoting from Mr. A. W. Pollard's edition of *Mankind, Wisdom, the Castle of Perseverance*, No. XCI of this series) "once formed part of the collection of the Rev. Cox Macro, whence the name, the Macro Moralities, by which they are usually quoted. According to a useful notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Cox Macro was born in 1683, and was the son of Thomas Macro, a wealthy grocer of Bury St. Edmunds, who was five times Mayor of that town. Thomas Macro had bought an estate at Little Haugh, Norton, as a country residence, and here his son Cox lived and died, devoting himself to antiquarian pursuits, though he had qualified himself as a physician, and had also taken holy orders. He bought antiquities of many kinds, and in 1766 a catalogue of them was printed. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* 'many of his manuscripts had belonged to Sir Henry Spelman; others formed part of the library of Bury Abbey.' Cox Macro died in 1767, and fifty-two years later his manuscripts were in the possession of John Patteson, M.P. for Norwich, who unadvisedly sold them (it is said for no more than £150) to a bookseller of that town. The following year they were put up for auction at Christie's, and while forty-one lots were bought by Dawson Turner, the rest, including the Moralities, were bought for £700 by Mr. Hudson Gurney, in whose family they have since remained."

This manuscript has been edited by Professor Alois Brandl in the *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. This edition has been of great service to me, which I hasten to acknowledge. Professor Brandl had to make his edition from a copy of the manuscript.

§ 2. The manuscript is in a good sixteenth-century hand on 28 sheets, numbered 360 to 387. Save for the devastations of a worm at one certain point (unfortunately some words are entirely obscured), it is in excellent preservation. Professor Brandl points out that this cannot be the original copy, because of many careless mistakes, such as only a tired scribe would be guilty of. Thus rhymes are found unnecessarily spoiled; e. g. *clerke* and *worke* (706-7), *morne* and *sorowe* (61) (for *morowe*). Further at l. 519 one whole line has been left out, and at l. 1732 two half-lines, which I have conjecturally restored in my note. There are also other instances of careless copying, some of which I have corrected in footnotes, whilst for the rest (as, for instance, sheets 363, 370, 371, 381, etc.) we find lines struck out, or passages written in afterwards in a very fine hand.

§ 3. The play begins with a prologue, which clearly stamps it as a kind of political morality:—

The Name of *our* playe ys Respublica certaine;
oure meaninge ys (I saie not, as by plaine storie,
but as yt were in figure by an allegorie)
To shewe that all comen weales Ruin *and* decaye
from tyme to tyme hath been, ys, and shalbe alwaie,
whan Insolence, Flaterie, Opression,
and Avarice have the Rewle in theirre possession.

But the aim is more specific:

We children, to youe olde folke, bothe *with harte and voyce*
Maie ioyne all together to thanke god and Reioyce
That he hath sent *Marye our* Sovereigne *and* Quene
to reforme thabuscs which hitherto hath been.

And thus we find in the Vices hintings at more definite people. — But of this a statement will be more in place in § 5, where a short history of the reign of Edward VI will be found, as bearing on the time and content of the play.

- I. i. The first act opens with a long and probably comic monologue of Avarice, with something like a patter-song in the middle ("of the offales . . . pettie fees"). In this, he mentions the dolorous plight into which Respublica (England) has fallen, and states his wish and intention of filling the empty bags on the ragged thief's cloak in which he enters, at her expense. Yet the author, faithful to his rather rudimentary sense of characterization, sends him off the stage in a nervous tremour that he has left his coffer undone and lost his keys.
- I. ii. In the second scene Adulation, Insolence and Oppression continue the action in a vigorous dialogue. Adulation, who has heard the voices

other two, is moved to emulation. But the conversation soon on their sufferings; to relieve which Avarice, the "founder" of I. iii. e, is necessary. He re-enters at this psychological moment, but absorbed in his cares for his moneys and deaf to all else. The scene that follows is extremely happy. Avarice, in his suspicion, ot be appeased, but is full of mistrust. At last he is convinced, nwillingly unfolds his plot. The scene closes in a pantomime e, in which the Vices (who faithful to medieval precedent are y clowns) drill round and round the stage in comic discipline.

the fourth scene, Avarice coaches his pupils in the use of their I. iv. names. Insolence becomes Authority, Oppression Reformation, tion Honesty, and Avarice reserves to himself the high title of . Insolence stupidly acquiesces in the new style which he never ht necessary. Oppression receives his with some intelligence. But tion is so delighted at his pseudonym that he continues boasting of some fourteen lines, and, despite his astuteness, forgets the disguised : of his companions. And, with the promise of Avarice to approach iblica, the act comes to an end.

ct II opens with the somewhat wearisome figure of the "widow" II. i. iblica. She is always lamenting and stupidly pious (cf. IV. i, V. ii, and lines 1759 and 1931). After her monologue of feeble moraliz- II. ii. lvarice enters, once more engrossed in his greedy thoughts; hastily des his thief's pockets, turns his coat again inside out, and per- s Respublica he is Policy, and thus introduces his friends in their red parts. In the third scene the anxiety of Adulation to please, as II. iii. second the willingness of Avarice to serve his own cause (cf. lines nd 1334), is brought into the foreground; whilst the characteristic ngs of the Vices in their false attire of virtues are wittily evidenced e dialogue. The crass dulness of Respublica was, to our author's d scope of fancy and dramatization, perhaps an inevitable blemish. eaves the stage unsuspecting, and Adulation makes his companions songs of glee.

gain postponing to § 5 the very important and somewhat difficult ems of length of action and place, and confining ourselves in this n to a bare outline of the play, we come to the third Act.

Respublica begins it once again with a monologue :—

III. i.

Nowe doe I lesse woonder that lost men, life to save
 Ferre from lande dooe Laboure againste the roring wave;
 for hope, I see, hathe mightie Operacion
 Againste the Mortall sting of drouping desperacion (601-5).

But she is not informed of what her counsellors are doing; and
 III. ii. Adulation, who enters immediately hereon, can only praise the policy of
 III. iii. Avarice: and People comes in to disturb his equanimity.

Here we have another of the characteristic touches of this play. The author has very few devices, but uses those constantly. One of them is that the Vices are always plotting for evil, but each doing his own apart from and without construction with the others. After Respublica in the last act leaves the stage, they are supposed to have dispersed (590-1) each "about his market." Hence Adulation, who has stayed with Respublica, knows nothing of what has been going on.

People is a clown (note on l. 1027), and at the same time a serious attempt to typify the peasant whose sufferings at the period of the English Reformation were so terrible. He speaks Devonshire or West-country dialect, of which an analysis and special glossary will be found in this volume. His complaints in this scene (III. iii) lack definiteness, a quality which they gain towards the end. With a directness and brusqueness of speech (cf. lines 1112, etc.), and marked obstinacy, he combines a submissiveness and meekness, which is most strongly seen in Act V. x. His other foibles are a tendency to forget words (v. lines 1144, 1592, etc.), and an unwilling and suspicious attitude, without definite reason, towards the Vices. His kindness and love of Respublica is also strongly marked.

To return then to the analysis of the action, at the outset Adulation cannot understand People at all. Respublica can,—and welcomes him. Adulation, failing to stay the stream of complaint, sympathizes, and asks for a time in which to amend the state of affairs. On Respublica's assurance, that it is Honesty who is speaking, People gives way and will wait two years. Adulation asks for seven. Respublica and People leave
 III. iv, v. the stage together, and in scenes iv, v and vi, the four Vices foregather, and compare notes. They have not met since Act II.

Again Avarice is represented gloating on his well-filled bags, and whilst Adulation enviously looks on them, Oppression comes on the stage, hoarse with weariness. Oppression (Reformation) has confiscated many bishoprics, whilst Adulation has only secured a pittance (a considerable sum in those days) of £300 a year. For this he is upbraided.

Oppression tells his tale of how

we enfourmed them / *and* we defourmed them,
 we confourmed them *and* we refourmed them, (806-7).

whilst Insolence "won the full superiority."

In vain Adulation endeavours to make them take measures against the

growing discontent of People: Avarice has to tell his tale (III. vi), and again the four sing a song of exultation. Avarice, anxious for his bags, speeds his companions on to take their several ways to wealth, and brings in a Latinized myth of Time and his forelock, which Oppression, the new owner of bishoprics, cannot understand.

III. vi.

The act closes with a monologue of Avarice.

Once more in Act IV Respublica cannot understand why her IV. i. seemingly good guidance brings her to nought. She enters in a ragged costume, and is sorrowfully greeted by People. In the third scene, IV. ii. Avarice has to face a sustained attack, and succumbs to it. Insolence IV. iii. and Oppression in the next scene come to his relief, but the false IV. iv. economic arguments of the latter are too much for People, and convince Respublica. Insolence insists on the necessity of authority, and the tardiness of a radical cure; but after Respublica retires satisfied, the three Vices give People no breathing-space in the incessant shower of their abuse of him. People makes one last appeal:—

but howe, one worde erche goe / yele geve Volkes leave to thinke?

Oppression replies:—

No, marie, will we not, nor to looke but winke (1163-4).

And things being now at their worst, in the long final act the Gods come to save Respublica.

The fifth act opens with a hymn of praise by Misericordia, who, on V. i. seeing Respublica approach, followed afterwards by Avarice and Adulation, withdraws. Respublica is in utter despair, and Mercy without more V. ii. ado promises her relief. Avarice enters at this point complaining of pickpockets and demanding more pillories. Mercy departs to fetch Verity, whilst Adulation and Avarice whisper apart. The two try to accommodate themselves to the circumstances, and Avarice, with his usual readiness, follows his companion out on Respublica's behest.

In the third scene, Misericordia and Verity tell Respublica what her V. iii. real condition is, and on the entrance of Peace and Justice all five depart V. iv. in company.

In the fifth, Avarice is even in this extremity discovered in his V. v. lamentations at the general thievery, and remarks, referring to the terrible increase in beggary:

If I had not a speciall grace to saie Naye,
I wer but vndooen amongst them in one daie (1439-40).

Adulation warns him of the danger, and is despatched with messages.

- V. vi. Respublica hereupon re-enters, with the inevitable 'O Lorde,' and despite of Avarice's cajoling remonstrances, dismisses him out of hand.
- People, who has been forcibly prevented from seeing Respublica,
- V. vii. comes up again in the seventh scene, already feeling stronger. She bids him stay to detect the Vices in a private conference; and even People laughs at the idea of Respublica of her own motion setting a trap.
- V. viii. But, again in scene viii, consultation ends in failure. Avarice bids each shift for himself, and proposes a song in which Adulation now cannot join.
- V. ix. In the ninth scene, all the characters excepting Nemesis are assembled. Despite the obvious conclusion, the author has succeeded in putting a great deal of vivacity into the action. Avarice defends himself most ingeniously; Insolence and Oppression have not a word to say; they are convicted by the pulling off of their fine cloaks, and after a speech laudatory of Nemesis (Queen Mary) from the lips of Truth, they are all consigned into People's hands; struggling ensues, until the coming of Nemesis calms the scene.
- V. x. Nemesis calls upon People to step forward; but the latter has learned his lesson of humility. The Vices all impeach one another. The Virtues conduct the ordinary dialogue regarding the claims of justice and mercy. Nemesis gives her award. Adulation repents and is pardoned. The punishment of Oppression and Insolence is reserved. Avarice is to be 'pressed' like a sponge, and is delivered to the 'Hedd Officer' (1904 and 1909). And with thanks to God and Queen Mary, the play closes.

It will be seen that the author succeeds in individualizing his allegorical characters, and even in giving some little grace of life to the virtues.

§ 4. Who the author was, is very hard of ascertainment. The play was performed in London at Christmas 1553 (v. the Prologue), and local references are found in l. 1634 to Newgate, l. 1695 to Westminster Hall, l. 640 and elsewhere to St. Paul's. (In this last case, a critic might have a shrewd suspicion that the absence of rhymes to 'people,' induced in l. 635, as elsewhere, the mention of St. Paul's steeple).

Internal evidence there is very little. One fact must be set in the forefront; the author, despite his Roman Catholic sympathies, never mentions the Reformation in its doctrinal aspect: it is the social evil, the rapacity and anarchy of the despoilers of the monasteries and seelands, the encroachings on commons, the spread of sheep-pasturage, the debased coinage that affects him and moves him to higher flights, almost to poetry. (Cf. II. i, III. i, V. i, and generally the laments of Respublica. Also V. l. 1527, et seq.; also §§ 5 and 6.)

At this point with some diffidence I venture to suggest one other faint clue, if not to his identity, at any rate to his more particular description. From the analysis of People's dialect, it will be evident from the frequent slips, from the artificiality and the varying styles (*e. g.* forms of negatives and pronouns), that the dramatist was not quite at home. The orthography and grammar of the literary English are also occasionally peculiar, as will be shown in § 8; but I should like here to call attention to the number of Northern phrases found in the literary part.

Thus we have *bluddings, gobbet, gubbins, hake, hucking, mome, twig, winch, yei*, and in People's dialect *copped*, if not *cobs*.

Leaving then the unsatisfactory and dubious ground of internal sources of information, it has still to be seen whether contemporary documents can throw no light on this darkness.

Assuming, as seems necessary and obvious, that the scene of action and of representation was in London, the various old libraries and foundations where plays were acted might have afforded some help. From the absence of any account or diary at St. Paul's, it is possible to exclude the choristers of that minster.

The Inns of Court also give no indication; but this negative result is not so certain, for I am given to understand that the Readers of the various Inns invited Royalty or other noble guests and entertained them at their own expense, and this *λειτουργία* receives no official mention: consequently, the minutes (which have all been collected) of their 'Parliaments' only deal with internal politics, such as the fining of recalcitrant members, admissions, and leasings of chambers. Further, no regular accounts appear to have been kept by any of the four principal Inns much before 1600; and the Chancery Inns (now suppressed) have no libraries and no records, as far as I have been able to ascertain.

As an instance to prove that this negative evidence has no positive value, it is not irrelevant to state that the acting of *Gorboduc* and other plays in these very Inns rests on entirely extraneous sources of information. Until, therefore, some diary or contemporary history is discovered, we cannot positively say whether or not *Respublica* was performed at any of these ancient hostelryes.

Unfortunately, too, the many curious warrants issued by the Master of the Great Wardrobe and countersigned in Mary's firm masculine hand, afford very little assistance.

From the text I should imagine that the play was intended for and received the honour of the Royal patronage.

At this time (as appears from the Wardrobe Accounts 427, bundle

5-15), the 'Singers' at Mary's Court were Richard Atkinson, John Temple, William Mayley and Thomas Kent; she also had a large number of performers on flutes, sagbuts, viols, lutes, harps, drums, fifes, etc.

In 427, bundle 5, 47, we also find the names of Richard Tysdall, Richard Picke (or Pyke), Richard Wodward (Woodward), Robert Beamund (*quære* Beaumont) and Robert Wodward as 'ordinary musicians.'

The interest of these names is that these 'welbeloued seruantes' are mentioned in two warrants to provide outfits for them against the Christmas festivities of 1553; and it is suggested that we here have something corresponding in time and place with the requirements of our play.

The two documents are subjoined; both come from 427, bundle 11, but are not numbered.

[427, 11.]

MARY THE QUEENE.

By the qwene.

We woll and commaunde youe that Imediatele yppon the syghte hereof you Deliuer or cause to be deliuered vnto owre welbeloued *seruante* Rycharde Pyke oone of *our* Musityans againte the Feeste of Christmas suche shewtes of Apparrell in as ample and large Maner as other owre Musitians heretofore have byn accostomed to haue at the lyke Feastes of Christmas.

And theise *our letters* shalbe youre sufficiente warraunte and dischardge in that behalffe.

Yeoven undre owre Sygnet at *our* palaice of *westminster* the xv^jth daye of Decembre the furste yere of *our* Reigne.

To our Trustye and welbeloued Councellour Sir Edward Waldegrave Knighte, *Master* of *our* greate warderobe.

MARYE THE QUENE.

By the Quene.

Mary by the grace of God Quene of Englande Fraunce & Irelande Defender of the fayth etc. to our truste & right welbeloued Councillour Sir Edward Wallgrave Knight *Master* of our greate Gwarderobe for the tyme beinge and to the *Master* of our greate Gwarderobe . . . that hereafter shalbe gretinge/.

Know ye that our wyll and commaundement is, that youe deliver or cause to be deliuered vnto *our* welbeloued *Servantes* John Temple, Richard Atkinson, Thomas Kent and Wylliam Mayley Servers of our Chamber and *oure* fower ordenarie Syngers yerely duringe our pleasure againte the feaste of every Christmas, theis *parcills* of Sylke Followinge.

That is to saie, to every of them, twellue yardes of good blacke vellet, fourtene yardes of good Damaske, and syxe yardes of good Satten.

And theis *our Lettres* from tyme to tyme shallbe your sufficient warraunt and dyschardge in this behalf.

Yeven vnde our Signet at our pallsais of Westminster the viijth daye of Decembre in the fyrste yere of our Reigne.

In the course of these investigations, the following warrant was also found (it has been independently published by Miss Stopes in the 'Athenæum' of the 9th Sept. 1905). It would be interesting to discover the play, and it is with the object of further publicity that its mention is obtruded in the introduction to the *Respublica*.

[427/5/9]

MARYE THE QUEENE.

By the quene.

We will and comande you furthwith vpon the sight hereof to provide and deliver to the berer hereof, for the gentlemen of oure chapell for a play to be playde before vs for the feaste of our coronacion as in tymes past hath ben accustomed to be don by the gentlemen of the chapell, of our progenitors all suche nessessary stuff and other thinges as hereafter folowith :

Item, Genus humanum for a gowne purple breges satten	^{purple} vij yardes
Item, v virgins Cassockes of white breges, satten and vij yardes for every of them that is to say v	xxxv yardes
Item, reason, verytie and plentie, every of them vij yardes	^{purple} xxj yardes
Self-love a Cassocke of rede satten of breges	vij yardes
Care a Cassocke of grene satten of breges	vij yardes
Skarsitie a womans Cassocke of Russett & satten of Breges	vij yardes
Disease a cassocke of rede breges satten	vij yardes
Sickenes, feblenes, deformitie, thre longe Gownes, one of Tawny satten, the other ashe-colored satten, the other blacke satten for every of hem viij yardes	xxij yardes
For the Epilogge a cassock of black damaske and ix yardes of purple damaske for a longe gowne, for the same	xvj yardes
Item, a shorte gowne of rede damaske for the ende	vj yardes
Item, thre shorte gownes of purple breges & satten for the end, vj yardes for every of them	xviiij yardes
The bad angell iij yardes of Kersey and winges for the good angell and the bad, iij thromd hat[t]es and tenn dossou of Counters and what youe shall lake for the furniture hereof To provide and see them furnished	

RESPUBLICA.

b

And this shalbe *your* Warrantie in this partie,
yeven at oure pallace of Westminster the last of
Septembre in the first yere of oure Reigne /

Of damaske xxj yarges
of breges satten vj score xiiij yarges
of kersey thre yarges /

To the inexpert commentator, the absence of evidence has some consoling aspects. He might misconstrue his authorities: in the field of speculation, a random shot may fall aright.

English Royalty has always kept in the choristers of the Chapel Royal a trained body of singers and actors. The Rev. Edgar Sheppard, sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, in his 'Memorials of St. James's Palace,' says:—

'It would seem that the "Children of the Chapel Royal" contributed their share to the rise of the English stage in the reign and Court of Queen Elizabeth, for during the sovereignty of that illustrious lady, these surpliced lads became a playing company. They were placed under the guidance of a Mr. Richard Edwards who was born in the year 1523, and who eventually became not only Master of the Children, but also one of the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel. He had poetical and dramatic gifts and was a man of thorough, sound education.'

Unfortunately for our period authorities are lacking: but Sir Thomas Cawarden was at this time Master of the Revels, and Sir Edward Waldegrave (or Wallgrave) Master of the Great Wardrobe.

From the Historical MSS. Commission, vol. vii, pp. 615, the following extract is culled: the reference is to the Loseley Manuscripts, belonging to Mr. W. More-Molyneux. It has never been printed; but the date (1. Phil. and Mary) precludes its utility for our purpose.

MICHAELMAS, 1. ELIZABETH.

Roll of an account on six membranes of vellum Offices of the Rents & Revells—The Duplicaments of thaccompte of William Moore Executour to Sir Thomas Cawarden Knight deceased late Master of the sayde Offices from the xvth day of June Anno Phi et Marie nuper regis et reginal primo et secundo vntill the feaste of St. Michael tharchaungell Anno Regni Domine Elizabethe Regine primo.

In 1836, however, Mr. A. J. Kempe, F.S.A. (John Murray) published a transcript of the most important of these Manuscripts; and from this book we cite several warrants, which may throw some light on the authorship of *Respublica*, as also on the unknown Coronation play, above mentioned.

The Commissioners thus summarize the whole collection :

'Of the 2,240, displayed in the catalogue, it may be remarked that only 26 were written in pre-Tudor periods, and more than 420 in days subsequent to Elizabeth. Of the 1816 Tudor writings 101 were penned in Henry VIII's time, 163 in Edward VI's, 94 in the days of Mary, and 1447 in the spacious times of great Elizabeth.'

Taking then the Coronation Play first, we copy from Kempe, p. 62, the following warrant in confirmation :

MARYE THE QUENE.

By the Quene.

We woll and commaund you vppon the syght hereof furthwith to make and deliver out of our revells vnto the gentlemen of our chappell, for a playe to be plaied before vs at the feast of our coronacon¹ as in times past, hathe been accustomyd to be done by the gentlemen of the chappell of our progenitours, all suche necessarie garments and other things for the furniture thereof, as shal be thought mete and convenyent by bill, betwyxt you and too of the sayd gentlemen. So as, the playe finished, suche party of the sayd garments may be restoryd into the office of our sayd revells, as customably heretofore hath bene restoryd, and this shalbe your warant in this part.

Geving under our signett att our manour of St. James' the xxvi of September the furst yere of our rayne. To the Master of our Revells and other officers of the same and to every of them.

This footnote obliges us to suppose that the Respublica was intended, for Christmas 1553, but postponed.

We also find (pp. 64) the following cast for another lost play :

*Plot or Scheme of an Interlude, allegorical and satirical, endorsed,
'Concernyng an Enterlude.'*

A Kinge,	honor with wisdome	{ A woman with to faces and in each hand a glass }	Pride,	a Pope
A Knyghte in harnes }	Knighthode, loialtie	{ A woman with a payre of ballance }	Wrathe	a Bishoppe
A Judge	justice with Mercie	Envie	a Fryer
A Precher	{ religion with Godde's Worde }	{ A woman with a Bible in her arms }	Covetus	a Person ²
A Scoller	science with reson		Gloutonye	a sole Preste [i.e. celibate]
A Serving- man }	Servise with affexion	Lecherye	a Monk
	Labor with diligence	{ Labor a woman with many hands }	Slothe	a Hermit

¹ This play, by reason of deferment was served at the Christmas following. Note in one of the Accounts of the Master of the Revels. [Mr. Kempe's note.]

² A character wearing a mask. See the item subsequently cited 'covetous men with long noses.' [Mr. Kempe's note.]

Ms. Kempe's note

And, lastly, on p. 63, the following warrant is printed, which presents problems of some difficulty, and perhaps gives a faint clue to the authorship of *Respublica*:

MARYE THE QUENE.

By the Quene.

Trustie and welbeloved, we gret you well.

And wheras our welbeloved Nicolas Udall hath at soondrie seasons convenient heretofore shewed, and myndeth hereafter to shewe his dilligence in setting foorth of dialogues and enterludes before us *for our* regell disporte and recreacion, to thentent that he maye bee in the better readinesse at all time whan yt shall be our pleasure to call, we will and comaunde you, and every of you, that at all and every such tyme and tymes, so oft and whan soever he shall nede and require yt, for shewing of anything before vs, ye deliver or cause to bee delivered to the said Udall, or to the bringer herof in his name, out of our office of revelles, such apparell for his use as he shal thinke necessarie and requisite for the furnishinge and condigne setting forthe of his devises before vs, and suche as maye bee seemely to bee shewed in our royall presence, and the same to be restored and re-delivered by the said Udall into *your* handes and custodie again.

And that ye faile not thus to dooe from time to time as ye tendre oure pleasure, till ye shall receive expresse commaundement from vs to the contrary herof. And this shalbe your sufficient warraunte in this behalf.

Geven under our signett the iii daye of Decembre in the second yere of *our* reigne.

To the maister and yeomen of the office of our Revells for the time being, and to their deputie or deputies theire and to everye of them.

As far as we know, the 'dilligence' at 'soondrie seasons' of Nicholas Udall has only resulted in Ralph Roister Doister, and the authority for this play (*see* Temple Dramatists' edition, and Arber 1869) rests on the unique printed copy at Eton. Only the citation of Ralph Roister Doister's letter of ambiguities in Sir Thomas Wilson's 'Rule of Reason' (3rd edition, 1553) enables us to assign an author.

Yet Mary would not have expressed herself in terms of such generosity without some adequate reason. Can these other plays be traced?

A comparison of the styles of Ralph Roister Doister and *Respublica* leads to some curious results.

In *style*, we find the same loose Alexandrines, imperfect rhymes, and a number of phrases in common.

E.g. R. R. D., I. 4. 121-2 *rayment—spent*; II. 3. 31-2 *hande—husbande*; II. 3. 37-8 *resorte—comforte*; III. 2. 59-60 *jest—earnest*; III. 2. 71-72 *gesse* (guess)—*doubtlesse*; IV. 5. 43-4 *witnesse—lesse*; IV. 3. 98-9 *towarde—frowarde*.

Only a few have been selected: they are far more common than in *Respublica*: v. § 7 for examples. If this play were, as is supposed, written in 1552, *Respublica* would mark an advance in style; its versification is on the whole smother.

Padded rhymes are also very common, and seem to be the same.

E. g. R. R. D., II. 4. 39–40 *people—Paules steeple*; II. 3. 73–4, etc. *elves—selves*; IV. 6. 20–21 *merier—werier*.

On this we cannot insist overmuch; as even Swinburne sometimes exhibits great paucity of rhymes.

Rhymes dependent on the then pronunciation are very common: *e. g.* I. 4. 53–4 *fewe—shewe*; I. 2. 141–2 *knowe—trowe*; I. 1. 21–2 *feast—gueast*; I. 5. 17–18 *you—thou's*; III. 4. 117–18 *shiere—here*, etc.

On this, again, we do not insist: if there are two authors, as contemporaries their pronunciation would be the same. But *few—show* and *know—trow* as occurring in our text have evoked a special discussion in § 8.

False rhymes are similar or the same; *e. g.* I. 4. 69–70 *that—forgot* (cf. *ninnat—namnot* 1823–4); IV. 5. 13–4 *am—man* (cf. *none—home, tyme—afyne*, § 7); IV. 3. 25–6 *arming—warning* and assonances like *dotage—mockage*.

The spelling of the plays is very similar; *e. g.* *geve, hir, cote, here* (hear) *counsaille*; but *weorke* does not seem to occur, and the licence is probably as great in the one as the other.

Amongst the *phrases* shared in common are the words *mome* (III. ii. 86, etc.), *malkin* (I. ii. 84), *masship* (I. ii. 100, etc.), *zembletee* (in our play *zembitee*) (I. iv. 74), *gear* (in general, contrivance) (I. iii. 21, etc.), *pashe* (*paishe*, IV. iii. 122, etc.), *Saint George to Borowe* (IV. 7. 74), *sectnur* (III. iii. 62), our *spaniell Rigg* (II. iii. 47; *Respublica* 340); *bees in the head* (I. iv. 93; cf. *Respublica* 66, a hive of humble bees swarmyng in my braine); *dawes* (i. e. dullards, III. iii. 36, etc.; cf. *Resp.* 880, etc.); *gauding* (III. 4. 1; cf. *gaudes* in Glossary); *the armes of Caley's* (III. 4. 72, cf. 782); *Goss* (for *God*, III. 4. 91) (see Glossary); *ragge of rhetorike* (IV. 3. 81; *Resp.* 920); *grutch* (IV. 5. 20; *Resp.* passim); *Cock* (for *God*) (I. ii. 160; cf. *Resp.* 950); *of likelihood* (probably V. 2. 2, etc.).

References to the *Respublica* for these words will be found in the Glossary, and in § 7 and § 8.

Nor do the similarities end here. Despite the different purpose of the two plays, the treatment is similar: metaphors (v. § 7) are rare, and those few naval: *e. g.* R. R. D., III. 2. 15:

As water in hir shyppe or salt cast in hir eies.

or IV. 1. 3:

In suche an outrageous tempest as this was,
Suche a dangerous gulfe of the sea to passe.

'what sayst you?' (IV. 8. 14) is like 'you liest' (639 *Respublica*).

Again II. 2. 10 (R. R. D.):

Dobinet Doughty. Yes and he would know if you haue for him
spoken

and prayes you to deliuer this ring and token.

Mage Mumblecrust. Nowe by the token that God tokened, brother,
I will deliuer no token one nor other.

reads very much like *Respublica* 1032-6:

People. Coumpacing? ka! Ientman, call ye thissame coumpacing?

And / whom shall we twaine thanke, youe, for this compacing?

Avar. No, sir.

Peop. Nowe by the compace that God coumpaced, etc.

Again I. 1. 388:

Nowe myght I speake to them, if I wist what to say

rings like

Conveighe miselfe hens honestlye, if I wist howe; (1264).

And with

And ioy haue ye, ladie, of yore promotion, (I. 4. 16).

Compare

I am glad that by me yo do suche goodnesse fele (1493).

III. 3. 110 runs:

Yes, I can do that as well as any can.

Cf. 1478:

This I knowe he will doo, for ons I knowe he can.

Again in Act III. sc. 4, l. 143, we have:

He may yet amende, sir, and be an honest man.

Cf. l. 1885:

Well, thou maiest yet become a worthie subiecte, yt ys plaine.

In § 6, I say that one of the devices of the author of *Respublica* is a constant repetition of significant words. This is frequently found in Ralph Roister Doister, e. g. IV. 2-6-7.

Sim. Suresby. When he knoweth of your health, he will be perfect well.

C. Custance. If he have perfect health, I am as I would be.

In III. 3. 120 Ralph Roister Doister tries to act a new part, and in IV. 8 there is a scuffle on the stage, for which he dressed up in IV. 3. So in *Respublica*, the change of garb of Avarice and the other vices, as well as of *Respublica* herself, and the cloakings and fights at ll. 423, 1027, 1811, etc. (as noted in § 3) form an important part of the acting.

We might also compare Matthew Mengrade's address to Christian Custance (IV. 3. 74):

Gentle mistresse Custance, now, good mistresse Custance,
Honey mistresse Custance, now, sweet mistresse Custance,
Golden mistress Custance, now, white mistresse Custance,
Silken mistress Custance now, faire mistresse Custance,

with Avarice's welcome to Verity (1701):

welcome, faire ladie, swete ladie, litle ladie,
plaine ladie, smoothe ladie, sometime spittle ladie, etc.

And with the mock-drill at *Resp.* I. iii. we may compare the arming of the maids at *R. R. D.*, IV. 4.

Besides these textual similarities, the following reasons may be urged in favour of Nicholas Udall's authorship.

First, the arguments from internal evidence as above.

Secondly, the popular dialect of Margaret Mumblecourt is the same as *People's*, but not elaborated. *E. g.* *R. R. D.*, I. 3. 99:

God yelde, sir, chad not so much, i chotte, not whan;
Nere since chwas bore, chwine, of such a gay gentleman.

If the reader will refer to the Appendix on *People's* dialect, and the Special Glossary, he will find *chad* (I had), *chwas* (I was), *chwin* (ichwin, I ween), amply represented: *ichotte*, is, *I wot*. And in I. 4. 65 (*R. R. D.*) we find *zee* for *see*.

Thirdly, Queen Mary is exalted almost in the same style as in *Respublica*: it is the language of a Court dramatist.

E. g. *R. R. D.*, V. 6. 45-58:

God graunt hir, as she doth, the Gospell to protect,
Learning and vertue to aduance, and vice to correct.

Cf. ll. 51-2, *Resp.*:

And that yls whiche long tyme have reigned vncorrecte
shall nowe foreuer bee redressed with effecte.

And ll. 1783, 1926, etc.

If, as we have seen, the Coronation play was deferred to Christmas 1553, this must have been longer postponed; and this would explain ll. 1935-6:

Praying that hir Reigne mooste graciouslye begonne
Maie Longe yeares endure as hithertoo yt hath doone.

Fourthly, the clear division into Acts and scenes, and frequency of Latin quotations, e. g. *in nomine patris*, R. R. D., l. 469, Resp. 764.

Fifthly, the fact both were intended as a kind of comic opera, with songs interspersed: unfortunately in our text, these are not preserved.

Sixthly, the known facts of Udall's life. From internal evidence, both Mr. Westlake and myself (see this section and discussion on People's dialect) had supposed that the author had lived in the North. His strange moderation in dogmatic matters was difficult to explain and hard to exult in, as merely a sign of virtue uncommon at this turbulent time.

But Udall (see his biography in the Temple Classics edition) was born in Hampshire in 1506, proceeded to Corpus, Oxford, and became a moderate Reformer. Probably thence he went as a school-master to the North of England. In 1533 he was a school-master in London, and soon became Headmaster of Eton (until 1541). He then obtained the vicarage of Braintree, Essex (until 1544); and subsequently reached a position of high favour with Princess Mary. In 1549 he was authorized to issue a pacificatory letter to the Devon and Cornwall rebels, and in 1551 became Canon of Windsor. The Catholic revival, so far from affecting him adversely, raised him in the Royal favour; and in 1552 he may have written Ralph Roister Doister; in 1554 he became Court Dramatist. Such a pliant Protestant may well have been non-dogmatic, and his varied experience of English country-life may have made him regard the social evils as all-important.

On these grounds, and on the obvious inference from the warrant of Dec. 3, 1554, I venture to suggest that Nicolas Udall was the author of *Respublica*, and that one day, some such adventitious proof as established him regarding Ralph Roister Doister may be found for this play as well.

In conclusion, I have to thank the authorities of Eton College, St. James' Palace, and many other public bodies, as well as Mr. W. More-Molyneux, the owner of Loseley MSS., for the ungrudging assistance received.

§ 5. It is, no doubt, with some relief that the reader will turn aside from the arid discussion in the preceding sections, to what is, after all, the main purpose, namely, the history of the reign of Edward VI, as illustrating and explaining this play, and as indicating what the length of action is supposed to be.

Before, however, any satisfactory account of this play can be given in its historical bearings, it is an unavoidable necessity to devote a few paragraphs to the events of the time. The six stormy years of the boy-

king present problems on which no two historians seem to agree. Froude is probably biassed; according to his account, Henry VIII was a successful and wise ruler, and Somerset an only less vicious and selfish character than Northumberland. Mr. A. F. Pollard in his *England under the Protector Somerset*, praises the Protector as a modest statesman, too temperate for the tempestuous times in which his lot was cast, and, although his book does not touch on the history of Northumberland's administration, it is not hard to see that his judgment would have been adverse. The authors of *Social England* denounce Somerset as an offender without the merit of self-consistency in a 'crew of harpies.' Mr. A. F. Pollard, however, strikes one clear and new note, in maintaining that it is impossible to treat the reign as a single epoch.

Henry VIII left a will appointing a council of regency, apparently in confidence that his intentions would be carried out. But the condition in which he left the country forbade of this. The coinage had been debased; the exchequer was bankrupt, the defences of Calais and Boulogne neglected, and the peasantry discontented at the unsympathy and greed of the new land-owners. A strong man had to take the helm, and Somerset (then Earl of Hertford) usurped an unauthorized but necessary power, with the assent of Parliament and the Council. There were associated with him, Lisle, Wriothesley (who afterwards had to withdraw), the Earl of Warwick (later the Duke of Northumberland), Sir William Paget, and Denny, the chief gentleman of the Chamber. In respect to foreign affairs, Charles V was alienated, and the accession of Henry II of France brought England a new enemy.

Subsequently Somerset obtained himself a confirmation of his authority from Edward.

Somerset seems on the whole to have been a generous but unpolitic ruler. His efforts to force an alliance between England and Scotland failed; the Statute of Treason (1 Edw. VI, c. 12), the attempts to solve the social problem, which had become incurably acute in this age of transition, and, above all, the cessation of religious persecution stand to his credit. He governed with the aid and advice of Parliament, and a select camarilla of the Privy Council; he set up a Court of Requests in his own house, and the Privy Council, sitting in the Star Chamber, acted as a court of summary justice. His intentions were good, but in this troublous time there was no place for the vacillations of a moderate man. In 1548 Cornwall rose; and Somerset's action was typical of the man: he issued proclamations in the popular cause, and restrained the violence of such zealous defenders of new-won property as

Sir Peter Carew. In 1549, when Ket raised the standard of revolt in Norfolk, the patience and temperance of Somerset was equally well shown. In this Introduction it is not proper to give any detailed history; we cannot altogether accept Froude's estimate, 'that his intentions had been good, but there were so many of them that he was betrayed by their very number,' since nothing can well exculpate his gentleness in dealing with Sir William Sharrington's frauds (the master of the Bristol mint), nor his wholesale pilfering of lands, nor the failure to deal with the chantries in a more equitable way. Schools were indeed founded, as the statute-book of Edward VI under Somerset shows, but clerical learning fell into such decay, the universities even were so impoverished, that men might well be discontented. It is to this effect of the Protestant avarice that the author of our play is referring towards the end of I. vi.

Froude also quotes from Holinshed a prophecy which had gone abroad, at the time of Ket's rising, 'That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed; *the realm to be ruled by four governors*, to be elected by the commons holding a parliament; the commotion to begin at the South and the North Seas.'

Whether our author had these 'four governors' in his mind, and impersonated them in his four Vices, is a speculation, interesting indeed, but not capable of definite answer.

It has already been stated that Somerset did not persecute. But he was compelled to imprison Bishops Bonner and Gardiner for recalcitrancy; and Gardiner remained in the Tower until Mary's accession, despite Somerset's efforts to get him released.

In V. ix. in the long dialogue between Verity and Avarice (l. 1706), the following phrase occurs, and it may well be a reference to Gardiner's unflinching conscientiousness:—

Verytee. The booke saieth Veritas de terra orta est.

Avar. happie is he *which* hathe that garden platte, I trowe,
owte of *which* suche faire blossomes doe spring & growe.

In 1549, *i.e.* two years after the accession of Edward VI, Somerset fell, not for the magnitude, but the insufficiency of his crimes. His Council and his Parliament were the representatives of the new nobility, that had no ancestral sympathy with the cultivators of the soil; and Somerset had espoused the popular cause, whilst endeavouring to restore order. His very brother had turned against him in jealousy.

Northumberland now gained the supreme power, and retained his

dominion safe in consistent ruthlessness, until swept away in the wake of Catholic revolution.

At this point it will be convenient to revert to the chronology of the play. Acts I. and II. are occupied with the making and the carrying out of the plot, and are evidently intended to be continuous.

But in Act III. Respublica enters, vaguely content, and curious for an account of her estate. People makes his first complaint, but is easily satisfied, even by Adulation. But he remarks (l. 722) :—

Chil warte all within *two* years as plente
as twas eny tyme within these yeres twyse twentye.

These two years should have been enough to restore the country to its prosperity under Henry VII, who died in 1509; this play must be supposed to last the whole reign of Edward VI and begin in 1547.

And in Act III. (v. 794) we have another reference to the passing of time: Adulation, egged on to discontent at his small share, says :—

he here [Oppression] hathe flytched the bisshoprikes alreadie.

If then the history of the second epoch in Edward's reign be shortly resumed, the action of the play in its general features will be made clear, whilst all references to particular grievances and special complaints are reserved for the notes.

The supersession of Somerset by Northumberland did not indeed mean the former's instant execution. He was allowed to live on until January 22, 1551, sometimes imprisoned, sometimes free. But, fallen even and a shadow, his former greatness threatened to overshadow Northumberland and his meaner policy; by force of contrast, Somerset became a popular hero; and, lastly, he could not approve or connive at the persecutions of Bonner, Gardiner, Mary, not to speak of humbler folk. In 1550 Northumberland was being assailed, and Somerset, out of jealousy or ambition, or a sense of right, did hatch some kind of conspiracy against him. But the articles of indictment were, beyond all doubt, based on exaggeration and perjury, and, even thus, failed of their purpose; for it was as a felon, and not as a traitor, that Somerset fell.

The rise of Northumberland to power was the signal for new depredations and a dogmatic Reformation. Without religious convictions of any determinate kind, the new governor saw fit to embrace the cause of the Reformers; and, if the pride of Somerset had regularized a larger degree of freedom, without deigning to consult the clergy, the irreligious spirit of Northumberland forced England into truculent and persecuting Protestantism. He was hailed as the champion of the New Faith. But

what were his works? The Devon Commons had already complained of the new service as the letting forth of God's service like a Christmas play. University endowments were seized: the coinage debased still further, called down to its new value and then further debased. The teston or shilling was cried down to sixpence in 1551, and prices continued to rise, especially as, despite the constant Commissions, commons continued to be enclosed, and plough-lands were given to shepherds.

In 1551 a proclamation was issued that every creditor, artisan, servant was to receive his old debt in the new coinage (cf. ll. 1078-86); and this too, when the Sweating Sickness broke out: and then the nation was invited to pray against the sin of covetousness.

In the same year the woods of the see of London were cut down, and the demesnes of Winchester and Durham appropriated.

In 1552 the new Prayer-book was ready, and passed by the Act of Uniformity. This is probably the meaning of l. 998 (IV. ii):—

Was not he [Policy] drownde, trowe, last yeare, whan Conscience was?

If there was peace, it was because the strength of Charles V was broken by the Peace of Passau (1552), and France was temporarily satisfied by the surrender of Boulogne. In the general misery, even preachers could not be found, and the service of religion ceased.

Early in 1553, Edward VI, whose pathetically wise comments on his evil days have survived in his diary, was evidently sickening unto death. Northumberland, seeing the result of his policy (he had been compelled to surround himself with body-guards), forced king, bishops and lords to approve of the succession of the House of Suffolk.¹ This may, perhaps, be what Avarice hints at, when he asks, which Verity is coming, is it old Time's daughter? For she must be staved off (ll. 1291 and 1699). He failed, and paid for his failure with his life. Mary was rapturously received, as bringing some prospect of change, and any change would be, it was felt, a relief. It is sad to think how unworthy she was of the enthusiasm that greeted her (as, for example, in this play), and of her opportunity: how little wisdom she had learned in the school of adversity.

We have seen that there is a two years' interval between Acts II. and III.; between Acts III. and IV. there is evidence that three or four years are supposed to pass. That some considerable time has elapsed is evident from People's querulous complaint (1017, IV. iii):—

vor zome good might ha bee doone in all this season.

¹ v. next section.

And in l. 1021 he bewails his poverty :—

vive or zixe yeare ago chad vowre kine to my paille.

Cf. ll. 1601 and 1777 ; *i. e.* before the advent of the regencies.

Act IV. and Act V. are one continuous disravelling of the plot.

A further question remains : are any specific statesmen intended by the four Vices ? To this no answer can be given in unqualified terms ; the author evidently conceives the Reformation as Oppression apparelling itself in the specious garb of improvement, and arming itself with insolence (*e. g.* the interference of the laity in ecclesiastical matters, cf. Act IV. iv) as its authority.

But Avarice is given to summary punishment, although previously dismissed. This incongruity, in my view, can only be a reference to the deposition, and subsequent execution of the Protector, as well as to the fate of Northumberland ; and Somerset and Northumberland may well to the liberal Catholics of that day have seemed an incarnation of avarice.

Adulation, however, is forgiven. There are two prominent statesmen of this epoch who weathered successfully the storms of the policies of Somerset, Northumberland, Mary and Elizabeth, namely, Sir William Paget and Sir William Cecil. Whether these were intended or not, cannot be definitely pronounced.

Enough, however, has been said to show the intimate connection of this play, and the social and political history of the reign of Edward VI.

§ 6. The length of the action of the play has now been indicated. In this section the grievances of the time as exposed by our author will be briefly detailed.

The actors in the real historical drama were rather the victims than the makers of adverse circumstance. It was the day of transitions — political and social. From a military point of view, the small population of England was no longer capable of taking the field in sufficient force to combat the great hosts which a united France and an Empire augmented by marriage could marshal on the Continent. Our hold on Calais and Boulogne was really dependent on the weakness of France, temporarily faction-ridden. Even under Elizabeth, our hesitating support of the Netherlands was of little practical service. The sea, which was to be our domain, was still unthought of ; and thus with a dwindling effectiveness on land, and an undevelopment on sea, England could not take any rank.

The economic situation was also changing. The ceaseless course of turning ploughland into pasturage was not merely an avaricious whim of

the landowners, it was the recognition by them that this would be the most commercially profitable use both to themselves and therefore to the country. There were indeed some statesmen under Edward VI who advised this transformation and endeavoured to set up in England not only a great pastoral industry but also to transplant from the Netherlands their great textile activities. But this larger view was not common; and the enclosures were made with disastrous rapidity, which was well described by Sir Thomas More nearly fifty years before the date of this play in his *Utopia*.

“‘But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence [the system of retainers]; there is another cause of it, more peculiar to England.’ ‘What is that?’ said the Cardinal: ‘The increase of pastures,’ said I, ‘by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men and unpeople, not only villages, but towns; for, wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men, the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them . . .’”

Beggary was of course the immediate result; but a purely agricultural England could not, if self-supporting materially, have advanced in commerce, or, under stress of competing industry and the need of defence, have taken up an attitude of defiance to the Spanish monopolies.

Again, the Reformation in England, occasioned though it was by the uxorious habits of Henry VIII, was really the consistent culmination of English polity, which had always protested against foreign jurisdiction. The papal supremacy was too often abused, merely to keep a vast number of benefices in the hands of Italian ecclesiastics, or to exact from English priests the larger amount of their earnings, thus diverting from England money which should have been usefully spent in the country. In the pre-Reformation, which was quashed by its untimeliness (for the other nations were not prepared to follow in Wiclif's wake), this economic unrest was the primary cause. In its subsequent development, Lollardry, like the Anabaptists of Münster (1533), led the discontent of the masses to revolt, and heralded dogmatic changes. But the peasant revolts that everywhere were symptomatic of the religious Reformation were too violent and failed.

In England, that same strong national feeling which would have none of Henry III's submissiveness was eager to support the Act of Supremacy, but not the necessary corollary of such an iconoclastic revolution in doctrine as Northumberland wished to introduce, in alliance with Knox, to whom he offered a bishopric. Even after the grim lesson of Mary's revenge, Elizabeth found it wise to steer a middle course.

The despoiling of the monasteries deprived the people of their accustomed refuge, and the creation of a new nobility on the booty (the old aristocracy was almost extinct) was not popular, more especially as, in their own small way, the newly-enriched classes sought to avail themselves of their material and spiritual resources for self-aggrandisement with no less forwardness than the princes who ranged themselves under Luther's standard.

This, then, was England's situation at the death of Henry VIII. Caught already and enfeebled in this whirl of economic, political and social transformations, impoverished and blind with the inability of contemporaries to foresee the trend of good in the transitory evil, she had still to undergo her last and most terrible Regency, and she had good cause for lament.

It is, however, with a wise reticence, only the social anarchy that inflames our unknown author.

The fitness of his time for these specious defalcations he indicates in line 87:

And nowe ys the tyme come that, except I be a beaste,
een to make vp my mouth, and to feather my neste.

The following lines (92-104) show how forfeitures had been invented, escheats blindly brought about, and skimmings (*fliettaunces*) given to the state. Conscience is dead (cf. lines 481 and 1598 when Nemesis has come), and money is got by hook or by crook, especially by the crook pastoral.

Living is to be distributed (l. 282) to the friends of Insolence and Avarice; parsonages (l. 809) are bought from Republica and sold to bishops at their highest value, and let for ninety-nine years; bishops know no Latin (l. 918); and those who minister to the people can be bare clerks (l. 959), Sir John Lack-Latins, and receive a pittance; these rectorships are bestowed on the tyrannical *νεόπλουτοι*, the 'Prior of Prickingham' (885), a name that somehow recalls Do-the-boys Hall.

To the Homilies issued under Northumberland's rule, we have a distinct reference in Avarice's jeer (l. 793):

Geate more / or I shall geve thee a homlye greetinge /

Some of the references to the profits of pasturage and enclosures are lines 309-10; 799-805, where the spoliation of episcopal demesnes, *e. g.* Durham, Winchester, London, is clearly contemplated; 1092-33.

In § 5 the grievances regarding the depreciated coinage have been indicated. The ingenious arguments of ll. 1084-9 are not imaginary. Froude quotes them from historical sources.

In l. 768 Avarice says significantly he has filled his purses with old *angelots* and *Edwardes*. In ll. 1076-1084 we have a very vigorous indictment. That the old bells were melted down, stands undeniable; and the export of bell-metal was forbidden by statute (2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 37). Somerset called the coin down to its true value, and endeavoured to fix the price of food in famine-time. In my notes I deal with these topics more fully.

The last head is that of political references, and of these there are very few.

Referring to the robberies of see-lands, Oppression remarks,
and some [bishops] would in no wyse to owre desyres applye.
But we have Roddes in pysse for them everye chone,
That they shalbe flyced yf we reigne, one by one. (819-21.)

There must be some hint at the treatment of Gardiner and Bonner, who were imprisoned and their lands seized.

ll. 1547-52 contain an obscured attack at Northumberland's attempt to dethrone Mary. The meaning seems to be this. The Northumberland family gained and still own a great deal of Kent, and the extent of the power of the Warwick and Somerset families may be intended. On the other hand, I am indebted to a friend for a luminous suggestion. l. 1548 refers to the acquisition of lands in Kent by Northumberland; l. 1549 to the arrangement for a marriage between Guilford Dudley and Margaret Clifford (daughter of the Earl of Cumberland)—she afterwards did marry Edmund Dudley, the Duke's brother.

l. 1550. The Earl of Warwick became Duke of Northumberland.

l. 1552. Berwick was in the see of Durham. Northumberland deposed Tunstall, and despoiled the see.

Again, in l. 1688 Peace makes a cutting answer when Avarice (Northumberland) pleads that he has kept peace. How this was I have indicated in § 5; Somerset had made war and uselessly; but with some purpose in view.

In l. 1927 Nemesis says:

Well, I muste goe hens to an other countreye Nowe.

In my note I have suggested, this may seem that Protestantism in

Germany, triumphant at Passau, must be quelled. (The Augsburg Convention was in 1555.)

The author evidently did not intend to mean too much. Perhaps his Catholicism was not fanatic: perhaps he took his cue from the studied moderation Mary put forward in proclamation in her first year of difficulty. In external politics he takes little interest, and I doubt whether the complaints embodied in this play do anything more than exemplify anew those well-worn and terrible hardships of which every writer almost of that day, and every statute is eloquent.

§ 7. Under this head a few remarks regarding style and rhymes must be made.

The play is written throughout in Alexandrines. But this metre, unsuitable as ever for English, is, despite the author's want of skill, already profoundly modified. There is no attempt at a regular cæsura; and, if there is no *enjambement*, this, at least, is a defect shared by him with nearly all pre-Elizabethan writers.

The scheme however is syllabic, and not accentual—a great advantage, as preventing excessive monotony. Thus feminine rhymes are constantly found in twelve-syllabled lines. As an instance of this syllabic measure, we might refer to ll. 1753–4:

Veritee. Now doe of thie gowne, & tourne the[e] inside outwarde.
Avarice. Leate me alone / and an Angell for a reward.

Other examples of the sort will readily be found, e.g. *mannye—compaignie*, 966–7, and elsewhere.

These rhymes, further, always go in couplets, excepting *Misericordia's* hymn in V. i, which is in quatrains. But couplets can be carried on almost indefinitely on the same rhyme.

Thus we find four rhymes at ll. 245, 343, 501, 546, 554, etc., etc.; six at 1741, 1765, 1833; three at 405, 422; eight at 477 and 712; fourteen at 383; and lastly an attempt at internal Leonines at 772 and 1345.

The next point we have to observe is the freedom regarding the number of syllables. It would be tedious to enumerate the many instances of hendecasyllabic lines; whilst, no doubt passing a large number over, I have noted over forty, e.g.

for whan pleaseth God suche comon weales to restore. (l. 29.)

Thirteen syllables are sometimes found, e.g.

I heare yt toulde for trouth. Policye, all wilbee nought. (l. 1278.)
Cf. l. 1253, etc.

RESPUBLICA.

Decasyllables do not seem to occur.

The quality of the rhyming present features of some interest. Feminine rhymes are found, and can be merely assonant; simple rhymes are often false, or constantly end on the same syllable, or even the same word; often the rhyme and sense is forced owing to the dramatist's lack of ease.

(a) Assonance, e. g. we have *spoken—open*, at 117–18, 227–8 and elsewhere; *favour—labour*, at 331, 1159, etc., etc.; *Misericordia—corda*, at 1323; *yonder—longer*, at 1613; *ninnat—namnot*, 1823. Other instances will be found.

(β) Simple rhymes but false. (We must carefully distinguish such rhymes as *dere—where*, l. 671; *beaste—neste*, 87; *together—hither*, etc., which were due to the pronunciation.)

As false rhymes we have: *none—home*, 805; *time—afyne*, 1699. Other instances of bad rhymes will be easily noticed.

(γ) Rhymes on the same syllable or word are very common, e. g. *maladie—ladie*, 506; *wytt—whytt*, 698; *me—me*, 700; *remedie—melodie*, 898; *ha vs—ha vs*, 1561. Again this is only a small selection.

(δ) The author has very few rhymes; and uses them with no thought of economy. There are thus many passages where the accident of ending the line on one word, determines the meaning of the next, because of his somewhat limited vocabulary, and the comparatively meagre resources of English in the matter of rhymes.

E. g. to *self* we get *elf* as a rhyme, in 259, 1011, 1832, etc.; *grote* and *throte* are coupled together in 311, 1590, 1691, etc.; *space*, *grace*, *place*, grow together incessantly; as also *voice* and *rejoice*, *walk* and *talk* (168, 181, 611, 1665); *weary* and *merry* are always conjoined, often ludicrously, (e. g. 776, 1471); *people* always induces a mention of St. Paul's *steeple*; *wurse* that of a *purse* or *curse*, and, whilst, as only one example of a forced line, we might cite:

This same I got by sectourshipp of my Mother

A vengeance on hir, old witche, for suche an other. (864–5)

So too *downe* is invariably followed by a reference to *cytie* and *towne*, (1301, 1785, etc., etc.)

This poverty of resource is one of the greatest blemishes in the play; one, too, which the reader will be only too able to exemplify more amply for himself.

In this section, I have now given a short account of the metre, and versification; a few remarks upon the style will bring this subject to a close.

The style scarcely rises above rhymed prose, although it runs very much more easily than Ralph Roister Doister. The humour is of a comparatively high order, because the dramatist is so serious, and puts the Reformation arguments in so unfavourable a light, *e.g.* the scenes where the Vices defend their conduct to People and the Virtues in Acts III, IV and V. His sense of the comic comes out well in Act I, where Avarice disciplines his companions, and where they show their evil exultation, as also in the clownish appearance and acting of People (cf. notes on ll. 423, 1028): the struggles of the Vices when consigned to People in V. ix, must also have afforded some rough humour congenial to a popular audience. The by-play in the frequent 'asides' (*e.g.* in all the conferences of the Vices with Respublica) must also have had a comic effect.

One of the devices frequently found is a repetition of the same word, *e.g.* l. 534-5.

Adul. I will doe hir double servis to another!

Avar. ye double knave youe, will ye never be other?

And in IV. iii, 'compassing' and the constant gibing on it. Or again:

Suche gredie covetous folke as nowe of daies been,

I trowe before these present daies wer never seen. (1431)

The metaphors used are very few, and almost always naval, *e.g.* ll. 443, 602, etc., etc. Similes are more frequent and elaborate; *e.g.* Time and Occasion in Act IV. vi, and Act V. ix. As I have said before, the style very rarely rises. I have indicated under § 4 and in this section, the passages where it seems to me that the earnestness of the writer lends his work genuine pathos or humour.

It must, however, be observed that the author, like all writers of that day and long after, freely introduces Latin phrases, and quotes in l. 41, Mat. 21. 16; for l. 1016, cf. 2 Sam. 5. 23, or 2 Kings 3. 9, or Acts 28. 13; in l. 1284, Ps. 85. 10; in l. 1530, Sap. 1. 15; in l. 1532, Amos 5. 7; and in l. 1706, Ps. 85. 11.

§ 8. For the arrangement of the following facts, I am indebted to the kind assistance and expert knowledge of my friend, Mr. J. S. Westlake.

In this section I propose to deal with the spelling of the manuscript, and grammatical and other forms.

I. Taking the orthography first, despite its apparent chaos, there is some order observable.

First then, as a general rule mute *e*'s can be inserted and left out at pleasure.

Secondly, *y* and *i* are interchangeable.

Thirdly, *w* and *u* represent the same sound as vowels, e. g. *thowe*, *thou*.

Fourthly, *gh* is a purely graphic sign and intervariable with *w* and *y*, e. g. *staigh*, *conveigh*, *wrowte*, *sowte*, *flyghth* (flieth), *oughe*.

Fifthly, *ea* is found, but not *oa* (for which *o* is used, e. g. *brode*).

Sixthly, the M.E. diphthong *ie* is of frequent occurrence.

Seventhly, *oo* represents *ō* and *ū*, e. g. *soo* and *woo*, *doe*, *dooe*, *doo*, *too*, *to*.

Dismissing, then, these easier criteria we come to certain well-marked differences.

We will take the development of the Middle-English sounds as shown in the orthography.

A. (1) (a) M.E. *ā*, as is known from the *Hymn to the Virgin* and the consensus from Salesbury up to Cooper, was in flux; e. g. *knave* (228), *ladie*.

We also find *sware* (swear) (1131). This spelling indicates an approximation to the sound of *ā*, which seems to have been sounded like long *a* in *grand*.

(β) *ǣ*. Of this we are unable to determine the pronunciation.

E. (2) (a) Long M.E. *ē* (cf. French *été*) is represented by *ea*; e. g. *least* (also *lest*), *leate*, *leat* (let, i. e. permit). In M.E. open syllables before a mute *e*, it is represented by *e* or *ea*.

It is important to note that *leate* is always *lassen* and *let* is *let* (hinder).

This sound is found in combination with *w*, e. g. *shewe* is rhymed with *fewe* (1709-10). The same sound is preserved before *ȝ* in *cayes* (keys), of which the singular is found as *kye*.

Contemporary authorities up to the last decade of the sixteenth century state that this *ē* was pronounced as such, before *w*, and before *ȝ* (e. g. *cayes*).

(β) M.E. *ē* (e. g. German *sehen*). This sound is mostly represented by *e* or *ee*, seldom by *ea*, e. g. *three*, *nedes*, *kepe*, *heare* (here), *theaff*. The same sound is noted in *shepe*.

A similar confusion is found in other texts 1540-1550.¹

When this sound is derived from the Old French *ie* (*matière*), it is represented by *ie*, *e* or *i*, e. g. *matier*, *manier*, *relive*.

The pronunciation of this sound *ē* was popularly *i* (continental). From rhymes it would seem that the author was striving after a different model, e. g. *relive* rhyming to *geve* and *believe* (believe). In unstressed syllables it would keep its original sound shortened.

¹ v. E. E. T. S. Extra Series XIII. Examples in Tindal are dubious.

None of these sounds are to be confused with the occasional spelling of M.E. \bar{e} by *e* or *ea*, e. g. *theare* (there), *eche*. In *heare* (here) M.E. \bar{e} was sounded as \bar{e} .

In combination with *w* we find *mued* (mowed), *newe*, *rewele*, *trewthe*, *treuth*, *brueth*, *trueth*.

From contemporary description, this was always the equivalent of French *ü*.

(γ) \bar{e} kept its M.E. sound, except before *r* plus consonant; e. g. *Barwicke* (rhyming with *Warwick*), *harte*. *Ea* is found for \bar{e} ; e. g. *geat*, *geate* (get).

(δ) *Final e* was mute (except in French words in *te*; e. g. *authorite*, more often spelt *-ee* or *-ie*). Mute *e* is a sign of length; e. g. *thowe*. In many cases it is doubtful whether *e* lengthened, as in *smale—cale* (*small—call* are also found), or was a mere reminiscence.

I. (3) (α) \bar{i} represented two sounds; e. g. *Nieckname*, 1536; *piek*, *purse*, *quike*, and *pieke*, *pick*. In Salesbury and the *Hymn to the Virgin*, a double transliteration of \bar{i} is found, viz. *i* before gutturals, labials and final, and *y* before dentals and frontals. The former points to French \bar{i} to-day (*pitié*) (which was the M.E. sound), and the latter to the modern English \bar{i} (e. g. *bit*); the latter absorbed the former. Hence *ie* before *k* in present text.

The spelling *ie* before gutturals seems to be derived from the very common spelling *ie* finally, which rhymes with French \bar{e} (cf. rhyme of final *y* to a so-called *e* sound in modern English).

(β) \bar{i} . This vowel was in transition between the continental sound and the modern diphthong. This is evidenced by Gill and his contemporaries, who draw subtle distinctions between the diphthong *ei* (M.E. \bar{i}) and the old diphthongs *ei* and *ai*. The difference is in the first component. In the *Hymn to the Virgin* and Salesbury, English *i* is denoted by Welsh *ei*. That something like this was the pronunciation of our author is shown by such rhymes as *cayes—dayes*: *cayes* showing *ei*, and *dayes* being nearer to *äi* or *ai*. In the singular we find *kye*; \bar{i} , therefore, was sounded *ei*.

O. (4) (α) M.E. \bar{o} (e. g. *small*) is represented by *oo*. These spellings (*o*, *oo*, *oe*, *ooe*) are never confused with *ou*, *ow*. It differed from M.E. in approximating to the sound of *so* in German.

In rhyme this is found in combination with the M.E. \bar{o} (German *so*); e. g. *soo—vntoo*, 1389–90. This rhyme cannot be exact from comparison with other rhymes in pure \bar{o} 's, e. g. *soo—gooe*, 1313–4; *soo—woe*, *no—wo*, 770–1.

(β) \bar{o} had two pronunciations: (i) The vulgar, as \bar{u} .

(ii) The older, $\delta\delta$.

From 1530–1563 Palgrave and others testify to (ii): and (i) receives the evidence of contemporary and all later writers. \bar{o} is also often spelt *ou* or *ow*; e. g. *behouff* (76), *forsouthe* (483).

\bar{o} before *n* and *m* representing French δ becomes *ou*; e. g. *compace*, *coumpace*, *counplices*, *counterfaicte*, *countreye*, *counsaille*.

\bar{o} , as lengthened in M.E. before *rd*, *rth* has a similar pronunciation; e. g. *woorde* and *foorth* to \bar{o} .

(γ) δ probably retained the Middle English sound, and, as in M.E. occasionally denoted an *u* sound.

U. (5) (i) \bar{u} had two pronunciations.

(α) Vulgar of a diphthong that has passed out of the language, and was represented contemporarily as *ou*, or *ov*.

(β) As \bar{u} , e. g. *mouthed*, *moothed*, where the sound must have been \bar{u} .

The sound (α) prevails in the text, and is spelt *ow*, *ou*, *owe*, *oue*, and its existence is more clearly shown by such spellings as the following: *woonder*, *sproong*, and, on the other hand, *plounge*, *spounge*, *roune*, *yowe*, *thowe*.

These spellings must be distinctly kept apart from cases in which *ow* denotes δu ; e. g. *growe*—*troue*, 1707–8.

This rhyme is not exact: *growe* being by contemporary grammarians represented as $\gamma\rho\omega v$, and *troue* as $\tau\rho\omega v$.

(ii) \bar{u} is represented by *u*, *ou*, and *o*; in all cases having the same value of *u* in *put*; e. g. *but*, *costodie* (1917), *hongre* (1343).

It must be carefully noted that the modern sound *but* is quite a century later.

(6) *Diphthongs.*

(i) *ew*. This has been discussed under *e*.

(ii) *ow* (α) $\rho\omega$, from $\delta\omega$; (β) $\rho\omega$ from *ow*.

Both are probably one sound in the text; e. g. *growe*, *knowe*.

A rhyme *growe*—*troue*, 1707–8, has been already noted; it is impossible to conceive this rhyme in Modern or Middle English. That it did occur shows that the sounds were similar. $\gamma\rho\omega v$ is described as having its first component longer than that in $\tau\rho\omega v$. The evidence for this is contemporary. A century later, *grow* would be represented by $\gamma\rho\omega$, and *troue* is described as having a short guttural component in the beginning, almost the German *trau*.

A large number of variant sounds are evidently concealed under the symbol *ow*. We find also *oughe* for *owe* (274), *thoughe*.

(iii) *ay* and *ey* are the same, in spite of contemporary efforts to distinguish them, e.g. *faine, feith, faith*. Gill complains that the common people pronounced *Ʒai* and *Ʒei* haphazard. See the remarks on the rhyme *cayes—dayes*.

(iv) *au* [*ow* in *cow*] is represented by *au, aw, ow*, e.g. *saw, haulf*. This sound became our modern sound (e.g. *law*). *Sowte* and *soughte* represented a similar sound, cf. *doughter* (daughter). As early as 1500 these two sounds were confused before *gh*, in the one sound *ou*.

Au also may represent the French nasal, e.g. *cognisaunce*, and even in English words *understaund*.

(7) *Consonants.*

(i) *K* and *g* were not mute before *n*.

(ii) Forms in *sh* are found in three places: *sh[e]wete* (108), *shwere* (1649), *shwete* (1867).

A seeming instance of the contrary *wissed*, l. 2, is a scribe's mistake for *wished*.

(iii) Final *tion, cion* might be pronounced *son* (cf. *benison*), but with a palatalized *s*, e.g. *imagination—mason* (655-6).

II. The Grammar.

(i) Use of present form for past participle, as in People's dialect, e.g. *to have fall*, l. 1542; *had I not take theym*, l. 1764; *would I have stretche*, l. 1549.

In line 1632 *scudde* is used as the participle like *trod*. *while tyme is laie on lode*, l. 901. Cf. l. 1444.

(ii) Persons and verbal forms. Singular verb with plural. (a) e.g. *thabuseth which hitherto hath been*, l. 50; *whan all the wordes . . . doeth disagree*, l. 1528.

(β) Old form of 2nd person plural: *what saieth youe*, l. 1879 (Nemesis is speaking).

(iii) Numerals take a singular noun, except in ll. 961, 1036, 1760.

(iv) *The* and *to* are combined with the following word; for examples vide the Glossary. We even find *throode*, l. 1036.

(v) Double negatives are found in ll. 672, 693, and 11, 214, 1673, etc.

(vi) Peculiar and archaic forms. Of these we will note here:

First, the boldest archaism and unique: *Suche gredie . . . folke as nowe of daies been*, l. 1431.

Secondly, the variations for the number 100, for which see the Glossary.

(vii) The Northern pronoun *till* and *until* is often used for *to*, e.g. l. 545 and 1062; and of the use of *at* in l. 262.

Thirdly, such forms as the following : *ha* for *have*, *againste* for *again*, *renne* for *run*, and more common (though *roune* occurs once), *all thing* for *everything*, *fet* for *fetch*, *verament* for *verily*.

With these cursory remarks, I close the discussion on the orthography and grammar. Some of the stranger forms may be due to the scribe's evident haste and inaccuracy. But most of them are peculiar, and seem to me to be original.

§ 9. And at the end, the last and pleasantest duty remains over. I have to thank Mr. J. H. Gurney (who has kindly lent his manuscript), Dr. Furnivall, Professor Skeat, Mr. R. W. Chambers, Mr. J. S. Westlake, Mr. P. A. Daniel, and many others, for the many hints and directions they have given in a work I could never otherwise have brought even to this insufficient stage of completeness.

A merye enterlude entitled Respublica, made in the [leaf 380]
 yeare of oure Lorde 1553, and the first yeare
 of the moost prosperous Reigne of *our* moste
 gracious Soverainge, Quene Marye the first: /

THE PARTES AND NAMES OF THE PLAIIERS.

The Prologue.	a Poete.
Avarice.	<i>allias</i> policie, The vice of the plaie.
Insolence.	" <i>Authoritie</i> , The chief galaunt.
Oppression.	" <i>Reformation</i> , an other gallaunt.
Adulation.	" <i>Honestie</i> , The third gallaunt.
People.	representing the poore Commontie.
Respublica.	a wydowe.
Misericordia.	} fowre Ladies.
Veritas.	
Iusticia.	
pax.	
Nemesis.	the goddess of redresse <i>and</i> correction. A goddessse.

THE PROLOGUE.

First, helth and successe, *with* many a goode newe yeare,
 Wisshed¹ vnto all this noble presence heare.

Prologue be-
 seecheth the
 indulgence of
 the hearers,

I have more tentreate youe of gentle sufferance

That this our matier may have quyet utteraunce.

4

we, that are thactours, have *ourselves* dedicate
with some Christmas devise *your* spirites to recreate;

And our poete trusteth, the thinge we shall recyte
 maye *with*owte offence the hearers myndes delyte.

8

In dede, no man speaketh wordes so well fore pondred,
 But the same by some meanes maye be misconstrued.

Nor nothings so well ment, but that by somme pretence
 ytt maie be wronge interpreted from the auctors sence.

12

But let this be taken no wurse then yt ys mente,
 And I hope nor we nor owre poete shalbe shente.

But nowe of tharguments to towch a worde or twayne:
 the Name of *our* playe ys Respublica certaine;

16

and de-
 scribeth the
 Play.

oure meaninge ys (I saie not, as by plaine storye,
 but as yt were in figure by an allegorye)

¹ MS. wissed.

What afflict- eth a State.	To shewe that all comen weales Ruin <i>and</i> decaye from tyme to tyme hath been, ys, and shalbe alwaie,	20
[leaf 360, bk.]	whan Insolence, Flaterie, Opression, and Avarice have the Rewle in their possession. But thoughe these vices by cloked collusyon And by counterfaicte Names, hidden their abusyon,	24
Yet Time vengeth,	Do Reigne for a while to comon weales <i>preiudice</i> , pervertinge all right and all ordre of true Iustice, yet tyme trieth all and tyme bringeth truth to lyght, that wronge may not ever still reigne in place of right.	28
and sendeth down Truth and Pity.	for whan pleaseth God suche comon weales to restore To their welthe <i>and</i> honoure wherin thei were afore, he sendeth downe ¹ his mooste tender Compassion to cause truth goe abowte in visitation.	32
	veritee, the daughter of sage old Father Tyme, Shewith all as yt ys, bee yt vertue or Cryme. than dooeth Iustice all such as commonweale oppresse Tempered with mercye, endeavoure to suppress.	36
Boys shall justify men.	with whome anone is lynked tranquillitee and peace / to Common weales Ioye and perpetuall encrease. / But shall boyes (saith some nowe) of suche high mattiers plaie ? No, not as discussers, but yet the booke doth saie	40
	<i>Ex ore infantium perferisti Laudem.</i> / for whan Criste came rydinge into Hierusalem, The yong babes with tholde folke cryde owte all <i>and</i> some, blessed bee the Man that in the Lordes name dothe come.	44
	Soo for goode Englande sake this <i>presente</i> howre <i>and</i> daie, In hope of hir restoring from hir late decaye, We children, to youe olde folke, bothe <i>with</i> harte <i>and</i> voyce Maie Ioyne all together to thanke god <i>and</i> Reioyce	48
And Queen Mary shall amend the Common- weal.	That he hath sent Marye <i>our</i> Sovereigne <i>and</i> Quene to reforme thabuses which hitherto hath been. And that yls whiche long tyme have reigned vncorrecte shall nowe foreuer bee redressed <i>with</i> effecte.	52
	She is oure most wise / <i>and</i> most worthie Nemesis, Of whome <i>our</i> plaie Meneth, tamende <i>that</i> is amysse ; Whiche to bring to passe, <i>that</i> she maye have tyme <i>and</i> space, Leat vs, booth yong <i>and</i> old, to Godde commend her grace.	56
	Nowe, yf youe so please, I wyll goe <i>and</i> hither send, / That shall make youe laughe well, yf ye abide thend. /	58

Finis /

¹ Over the line in MS.

Actus primi, scena prima.[leaf 361]
Act I, sc. I.

AVARYCE.

Now, Goddygod, every chone bothe greate and smale,
 from highest to lowest, Goddiggod to yowe all ; / 60
 Goddiggod, what sholde I saie ? even or morne
 if I marke howe the daie goeth, God geve me sorowe.
 But, Goddiggod, echone twentie and twentie skore
 of that ye most longe for, what wolde ye have more ? 64
 ye muste pardonné my wyttes / for I tell youe plaine,
 I have a hive of humble bees swarmynge in my braine,
 and he that hath the compace to fetch *that* I must fetch
 I maie saie in Counsaile, had nede his wyttes to stretch. 68
 But nowe, what my name is, *and* what is my purpose,
 Takinge youe all for frendes, I feare not to disclose.
 My veray trewe vnchristen Name ys Avarice,
 which I may not have openlye knowen in no wise ; 72
 For though to moste men I am found Commodius
 yet to those that vse me, my name is Odius.
 For who is so foolishe that the evell he hath wrought
 for his owen behouff he wolde to light sholde be brought ? 76
 or who had not rather, his ill doinges to hide,
 Thenne to have the same bruted on everye syde ?
 Therefore, to worke my feate, I will my name disguise,
 And call my Name ' polycie ' in stede of Covetise. 80
 The Name of ' policie ' ys praised of eche one,
 But, to rake grumle sede, Avaryce ys a Lone.
 The Name of ' policie ' is of none suspected :
 Polycye is ner of any cryme Detected. 84
 So that vnder the Name and cloke of policie,
 Avaryce maie weorke factes & scape all Ialousie.
 And nowe ys the tyme come that, except I be a beaste,
 een to make vp my mouth, and to feather my neste. 88
 A tyme that I have wayted for, a greate Longe space,
 and nowe maie I spede my purpose, If I have grace.
 For heare ye, sirrha ! our greate graund Ladie Mother
 Noble Dame Republica, she and none other, 92
 of the offalles, the refuse, the Ragges, the paringes,
 The baggage, the trashe, the fragmentes, the sharinges,
 The od endes, the Cr[u]mes, the dribletes, the chippinges,

Avarice
entereth
complaining
and bustled,and dis-
closeth him-
self who he
is.And will be
called Policy,
the which is
praised of
men.His time is
come.He abuseth
Republica ;

The patches, the peces, the broklettes, the drippings, 96
 The fliettance, the scrapings, the wilde wai[u]es and straies,
 The skimmynges, the gubbins of booties and praies,
 [leaf 361, bk.] The glenynge, the casualties, the blynde excheates, 100
 The forginge of forfaycte, the scape of extracites,
 Thexcesse, the waste, the spoils, the superfluités,
 The windefalles, the shriddinges, the flycinges / the petie fees,
 with a Thowsaunde thinges mo which she maye righte well
 lacke— /
 woulde fyll all these same purses that hang att my bakke / 104
 yea, and tenne tymes as manye moo bagges as these
 which shoulde be but a flea bytinge for hir to lese.
 That if I maie have the grace & happe to blynde her,
 I doubte not a shewete Ladye I shall fynde hir. 108
 to hir ytt wer nothing, yet manye a smale makith a greate,
 And all thinges wolde helpe me what ever I maye geate.
 ful lytle knowe men the greate nede that I am yn.
 Doo not I spende dailie of that that I do wyne? 112
 then age cometh on, and what ys a lytle golde
 to kepe a man by drede¹ that ys feble and olde?
 No man therefore blame me / thoughe I wolde have more /
 the worlde waxeth harde, & store (thei saie) is no sore. 116
 Nowe the chaunce of theves, in goode howre be ytt spoken ;
 owte alas, I feare, I left my Cofer Open.
 I am surelye vndoone / alas where be my Cayes?
 It ys gone that I have swette for / all my lyve daies. 120
 Wo worthe all whoreson theves / & suche covetous knaves,
 that for their wyndinge sheete wolde scrape men owt of
 their graves ! [Exeat.]

and de-
signeth how
he may
beguile her.

Is smitten
with fear
his coffer be
unlocked.

Act I, sc. ii.

Actus primi, scena secunda.

ADULACION, INSOLENCIE, OPPRESSYON. / *Intrant Cantan[tes].*

Adulation
heareth the
singing,
but Insolence
is deaf.

Adulacion. Oh noble Insolence, if I coulde singe as well,
 I wolde looke in heaven emonge Angells to dwell. 124
Insolence / Sing ! nowe doo I sing, but as other manye doe ?
Adulacion / yes, an Angels voice ye have to herken vnto.
Insolence. yea, but what availeth that to highe dignitiee ? 127
Oppression. By his armes, not a whitte, as farre as I can see.
Inso. Or what helpeth that thinge, to sett a man a loft ?

¹ v. Note.

Oppression. By his woundes, not a strawe / so have I tolde [leaf 362]
yowe ofte.

Adul. No but ye are one of suche goodlye personage,
of suche wytte & beawtye and of sage parentage, 132
So excelente in all poyntes of everye arte,—

Adulation
inciteth Inso-
lence to rule.

Inso. In dede, god and nature in me have done their parte,—

Adul. That yf ye will putte yourselfe forwarde to the mooste,
ye maie throughowte the whole lande¹ rewle all the Roste. 136
howe saie yowe, *Oppression*? ys ytt not even so?

Oppr. Thowe saiest soothe, *Adulacion*, so mowte I goe :
if he wer disposed to take the charge in hande,
I warraunte hym a chive to Rewle all the whole lande. 140

Adul. So, Maister *Insolence*, ye heare *Oppression*?

Inso. I thanke bothe hime and thee, goode *Adulacion*.
And Long have I dreamed of suche an enterpryse,
But howe or where to begynne I cannot devise. 144

Oppression
and Inso-
lence, desir-
ing, know no
means.

Oppression. Wherefore serve frendes but your enterpryse to
allowe?

Adul. And than must youe supporte them, as thei muste
maintayne youe.

Oppr. And wherefore do frendes serve, but to sett youe yn?

Adul. Ye shall have all my healpe / whan ever ye beginne. 148

Inso. But we maie herein, nothing attempte in no wyse,
withowte the Counsaile of our fownder *Avaryce*. 149

Avarice must
be taken in
counsel.

Adul. He muste directe all this geare by his holye gooste.

Oppr. For he knowith whatt ys to be done in eche cooste.
he knoweth where & howe that Money is to be hadde, 153
And yonder he cometh, me thinketh, more then half madde.

[Intrat Avar. /

Actus primi, scena tertia.

Act I, sc. iii.

AVARICE, INSOLENCIE, OPPRESSION, ADULACION.

Avarice. It was a faire grace that I was not undooen clene ;
yet my kye was safe lockt vnder myne lockes, I wene, 156
but een as against suche a thing my harte wyll throbbe,
I fownde knaves abowte my howse, readye me to Robbe.
Theare was suche tooting, suche looking & such priinge,
such herkenynge / suche stalking, suche watching, such spyngie.
what wolde ye, my Maisters? we looke after a catte. 161 [leaf 362, bk.]

Entereth
Avarice, and
complaineth
of thieves.

¹ lande above the line.

Beholdeth
Insolence and
his compere,
and mistrust-
eth them.

what make ye heareabowt? we have smelled a ratte.
Nowe a wheale on suche noses, thought I, by and by,
That so quicklie canne sente where hidden golde dothe lye. 164
But had I not comme when I dyd, withowte all failles,
I thinke theye had digged vp my walles with theire Nailles.

They desire
to speak unto
him, but he is
distracted.

Inso. Let vs speake to hym and breake his chafing talke. 167

Avar. Suche gredinesse of Money emonge men dothe walke,
That have yt they wyll, eyther by hooke or by crooke.

Oppr. lett vs call to hym *that* he maye this waye Lookke.

Avar. whether by right or by wronge in feith some care not:
Therefore catche that catche maye, hardely, & spare not. 172

Adul. All Haille our Fownder & chief, Mr. Avaryce.

Avar. the Devyll ys a knave, an I catche not a flyce,

Adul. when ye see *your* tyme, looke this waie *your* frendes
vppon.

Avar. I doubte not to skamble and rake as well as one. 176

Adul. heare bee that wolde faine bee desiples of *your* arte.

Avar. I wilnot be behinde to gette a childe's parte.

Adul. Nowe if ye have done / I pray youe looke this waye
backe. 179

Adulation
winneth his
ear,

Avar. Whoo buzzeth in myne eare so? what? ye sawecye Iacke?

Adul. Are ye yet At leysure with *your* goode frendes to talke?

but Avarice
assalleth him
with just
words.

Avar. what clawest thoue myne elbowe, pratlinge merchaunte?
walke!

ye flaterabundus youe, youe flyering-clawbacke youe, 183
youe the-Crowe-is-white youe, youe the-swanne-is-blacke youe,
youe Iohn-Holde-my-stafe youe / youe what-is-the-clocke youe,
youe *ait-aio* youe, youe *negat nego* youe. /

Adul. I mervaille youe speake to me in suche facion. 187

Avar. whi troublest thoue me then in my contemplacion?

Adul. I came of right goode love, not mynding youe to lett.

Avar. Thoue ner camest to anie Man of good love yett. 190

Adul. And these mennes myndes yt was I sholde soo dooe.

[leaf 363]

Avar. As false wretches as thyne owen selfe and falsen tooe.

Ins. et Oppr. we have been loving to youe & faithfull alwaye.

Avarice sus-
pecteth them
of theft,

Avarice. For *your* owne profittes then, & not myne, I dare saie;
And een, verai, youe three it was, & others none,
that wolde have Robbed me not yet haulf an howre gone. 196

and they
protest their
love.

Insol. & Oppr. Adulac. we never robbed anye Manne later or
rather.

Avar. Yes, manye a tyme *and* ofte your own veraie Father.

Oppr. And to yowe have we borne hartie favors alwaie.

Avar. And I warraunte youe handg for *your* labours one daie. 200

Oppr. Adul. And as oure god, we have alwaie Honored youe.

Avar. And een as *your* god, I have aie succoured youe.

Oppr. Wee call yowe *our* fownder by all holye Halowes.

Avar. Founder me no foundring; but beware the galowes. 204

Inso. I prairie youe leave thes wordes / & talk frendlie at laste.

Avar. Content at *your* request / my fume is now well paste, *Avarice*
And in faith what saithe *our* frende Adulacion? *yieldeth,*

Adul. I wonder at *your* Roughe Communicacion, 208
that ye wolde to me vse wordes of suche vehemence.

Avar. Feyth, manne, I spake but even to prove *your* pacyence,
that yf thowe haddest grunted or stormed thereat, 211

Adul. Naie, fewe times doe I vse suche lowde manier as that.

Avar. Come, shake handes; for euer we twoo be at one.

*and they are
friends.*

Adul. As for grutche in me, there shall neuer remaine none.

Avar. Nowe, Mr. Insolence, to *your* ghostlye purpose.

Insol. we accordyd a metier to youe to disclosse. 216

Avar. I vnderstande all *your* agremente & accorde,
for I laid in *your* bosoms when ye spake the worde.

And I like well the advise of Oppression,

And eke of Flatterie for *your* progression. 220

Inso. If there were matier whereon to work, I care not.

Avar. ye shall have Matier enoughe, bee doinge, spare not.

*Avarice
hinteth how
[leaf 863, bk.]
they may
succeed.*

Inso. What? to come to honour and welthe for vs all three?

Avar. Ah than, ye coulde be well content to leave owte me. 224

Inso. No, for I knowe ye can for *yourselfe* well provyde.

Avar. Yea, that I can, & for twentye hundreth besyde.

Adul. Oh, wolde Christe, goode fownder, ye wolde *that* thing
open.

Avar. Bones, knave, wilt thowe have ytt / ere yt can be
spoken? 228

Oppr. for the passion of god, tell yt vs with all spede.

Avar. By the crosse, not a worde / here is haste made in
dede.

Insole. Yes, good Swete Avarice, despatch & tell att once.

Avar. Naie then, cutte my throte, ye are felowes for the *Avarice*
nonce; 232 *feareth lest
he should*

disclose too
soon,

will ye have a matier before ytt canbe tolde?
If ye will have me tell ytt, ye shall *your* tonges holde.
whiste, scilence! not aworde / Mum, leatte *your* clatter sease.
are ye with Childe to heare / and cannot holde *your* peace?—236

but revealeth
Respublica
how she is
undone,

So, sir, nowe, Respublica, the ladie of Estate,
ye knowe nowe latelie is left almost desolate.
Hir welthe ys decayed; hir comferte cleane a goe;
& she att hir wittes endes what for to saie or doe. 240
fayne wolde she have succoure & easemente of hir grieve,
And highlye advaunce them that wolde promise reliefe;
suche as wolde warraunte hir spirites to revive
Mought mounte to highe eastate / & be most sure to thrive. 244

and they
throng round
in eager
greed.

Inso. So.

Adula. well saide.

Opp. hah.

Avar. what is this hum, hah, hum?

Insol. onn forth.

Adul. goe too.

Op. tell on.

Avar. boddye of me.

Adul. mum. /

*Avarice.*¹ what saie ye?

Inso. hake.

Adul. tuff.

Op. hem.

Av. who haken tuffa hum.

What saie ye?

Oppr. Nothing.

Inso. Not aworde.

Ava. nor youe neither.

Ad. mum. / 248

Avar. Dyd ye speake or not?

Ins. No.

Opp. no.

Adul. no.

Ava. nor yet doo not?

Inso. No.

Opp. No.

Adul. No.

¹ The scribe evidently had some difficulty at this point in copying.

Inso.

No.

Adul.

no.

Avar.

that that that that that that.¹

Sir, I entend Dame Respublica tassa[i]lle

and so to crepe in to be of hir Counsaile;

252

Avarice will
be of her
Council
and aid his
friends.

I hope well to bring hir in such a paradise

that hiselfe shall sue me to have my service

Than shall I have tyme & poure to bringe in youe three.

[leaf 364]

Oppression. Do this owte of hande, founder, & first speake for

Oppression
craveth for
advancement.

me,

256

bring me in credyte that my hande be in the pye:

An I gett not elbowe rowme among them, let me lye.

Avar. Naie, see an Oppression, this eager elfe

Avarice re-
proveth him.

bee not sens more covetous then covetous selfe.

260

Softe, be not so hastie, I praie youe, Sir, softe awhile,

you will over the hedge ere ye comme att the stile.

Oppr. I wolde fayne be shouldering & rumboling emonge
them.

Avar. Naie, I will helpe Iavels as shall wrong them.

264

Adul. I praie youe, good foundre, let not me be the Laste.

Adulation
prayeth
Avarice,
and shall be
gratified.

Avar. Thowe shalte be well placed where to thrive verai faste.

Adul. I thanke youe, M^r. Avarice, with all my harte.

Avar. And when thoue arte in place, see thowe plaie well

this parte;

268

Whan ye clawe hir elbowe, remembre your best frende,
& lett my Commendacons be ever att one ende.

Adul. I warraunte youe.

Insol. And what shall² bee left cleane owte?Insolence
claimeth his
share,
and shall be
chief.Avar. No, syr, ye shall bee chiefe to bring all thinges
abowte.

272

ye shall emonge vs have the chiefe preeminence,

And we to youe as yt were, oughe obedience.

ye shalbe our leader, our Captaine, & our guyde,

Than must ye looke a lofte with thandes under the side.

276

I shall tell Respublica ye can beste governe:

bee not ye than skeymishe to take in hand the stern.

Then shall we assist youe as frendes of perfitte truste,

to doe & to vndoe and Commaunde what ye luste.

280

¹ The MS. has y^t y^t y^t y^t y^t. Should this not be read 'tut' in this line?² Prof. Brandl inserts 'I' after 'shall'; the emendation is necessary.

but must
divide the
livings.

And when youe have all att *your* owne will & pleasure,
parte of *your* lyvinges to *your* frendes ye maie measure
and punishe the prowdeste of them *that* will resiste.

Oppr. He that ones wincheth shall fele the waite of my
fiste. 284

Adul. Yea, we muste all holde & cleve together like burres.

Avar. Yea, see ye three hang & drawe together like furies.¹

Oppr. And so shall we be sure to gett store of money
Sweter then sugar,

Avar. Sweter then enie honey. 288

[leaf 364, bk.]

Insol. / Verai well spoken, this geare will righte well accorde.

Adul. Did not I saie ye were worthie to be a lorde?

Insolence
shall become
a Lord, but
must share
his lands.

Avar. I will make Insolence a lorde of highe eastate.

Insol. And I will take vppon me well bothe earelye and
late. 292

Oppr. But, Insolence, when ye come to the encroching of
landes,

ye maie not take all alone into youre handes;

I will looke to have parte of goodes, landes & plate.

Adulation
shall not lack.

Insol. Ye shall have enoughe, eche bodye after his rate. 296

Adul. I muste have parte too / ye muste not have all alone.

Inso. Thowe shalte bee laden, tyll thye shoulders shall cracke
& grone.

Adul. I praie youe, lett me have a goode Lordship or twoo.

Insol. Republica shall feede the[e] / tyll thowe wilt saie
hoo. 300

Adul. And I muste have goode Mannour places twoo or three.

Insol. But the chiefe and beste Lordship muste remaine to
me.

Insolence
claimeth
the chief
title and
towns and
castles and
pastures.

Oppr. Masse/ and I will looke to be served of the beste,
orels somme folke, somme where, shall sytt but in smale reste. 304

Insol. I muste have castels & Townes in every shiere;

Adul. And I chaunge of howses one heare / & another there:

Inso. And I muste have pastures / & townships and woodes.

Oppr. And I muste nedes have store of golde & other
goodes. 308

Insolence. And I must have chaunge of Farmes. & pastures
for shepe,

¹ The MS., in a different handwriting of later date, adds to this line 'of
far finis.'

with dailie revenues my lustye porte for to kepe.

Avar. I wolde have a bone here, rather then a grote,
to make these snarling cures gnawe owte eche others throate. 312
here be eager whelpes, loe: to yt Boye / box him balle!
poore I maie picke strawes / these hungri dogges will snatch all.

Avarice
despaireth,
seeing their
greed,

Oppr. Eche man snatche for hymselfe; by gosse, I wilbe spedde.

Avar. Lacke who lacke shall / Oppression wilbe corne fedde.
Is not Dame Republica sure of goode handlinge 317
Whan theis whelpes, ere they have ytt / fall thus to skambling?
And me, their chiefe Fownder, / they have een syns forgotta.

Insolence. Thowe shalte have gold & silver enoughe to thy lotte. 320

[leaf 365]
but Insolence
consoleth
him.

Republica hath enoughe to fill all oure Lappes.

Adul. Than, I praie youe, sir, leate oure fownder have somme scrappes.

Avar. Scr[a]ppes, ye doulthishe lowte! fede youe your fownder with scrappes?

Yf youe were well served / youre head wolde have somme rappes.

Adul. I spake of goode will.

Inso. Naie, fight not, good Avarice. 325

Oppr. What enie of vs getteth, thowe haste the chiefe price.

Avar. Than, what ever ye doe, ye will remembre me?

Insol. Oppr. Adul. Yea.

Avar. Well, so doe than, & I forgeve youe all three.

And Avarice
quiesceth.

Insol. But when¹ do wee enter everye man his Charge? 329

Avar. As soone as I can spye Republica att large,
I will bourde hir, and, I trowe, so wyne hir favoure
That she shall hire me and paie well for my laboure:
than wyl I commende the vertues of youe three
that she shall praie & wishe vnder our Rewle to bee.

Avarice will
persuade
Republica,
and biddeth
his comrades
attend and
obey him.

Therefore from this houre bee ye all in readinesse.

Oppr. Doubte not of vs; thowe seest all oure greedinesse. 336

Insol. If ytt bee at midnight, I come att the firste call.

[they go forthwarde, one after other.]

Adul. Doe but whistle for me, and I comme foorth with all.

Avar. That is well spoken. I love suche a towarde twygg.

[he whistleteth.]

Adul. I comme, fownder.

¹ when above the line.

Avar. that is myne owne good spaignel Rigg, 340
 And comme on, backe againe, all three, come backe agayne.
Insol. Owre founder calleth vs backe.
Oppr. retourne then amaigne.

Act I, sc. iv.

Actus primi, scena quarta.

AVARYCE, ADULACION, INSOLENCE, OPPRESSION.

Avarice
teacheth his
comrades
how their
Names must
be changed,

Avar. Comme on, syrs, all three. And first to youe, best be
 truste :

What is your brain-pan stufte with all? / wull or sawe duste? 344

Adul. Why so?

Avar. What is your Name?

Adul. Flatterie.

Avar. een so iust?

Adul. Yea, orels Adulacion if youe so luste.

Either Name is well knowne to Mannye a bodye.

for Adula-
 tion, Inso-
 lence, and
 Oppression
 are hateful,
 even as
 Avarice.

Avar. An honest mome; ah, ye dolt, ye lowte, ye Nodye, 348

Shall Republica here your commendacon

by the Name of Flatterie or Adulacion?

or when ye Commende me to hir, will ye saie this,

Forsoothe his Name is Avarice or Covetise? 352

[leaf 365, bk.]

And youe that sholde have wytte / yst youre Descretion

Bluntlye to goe forth, and be called Oppression?

and youe, Insolence, do ye thinke yt wolde well frame,

If ye were presented to hir vnder that name? 356

Insol. I thought nothing therevppon by my holydome.

Oppre. My mynde was an other waie by my christendome.

Adul. that thing was le[a]st parte of my thought, by Saincte
 Denie.

Avar. No, Marie, your myndes were all on your haulfe penie;
 but, my maisters, I must on myne honestie passe, 361

And not Roune on heade, like a brute beaste or an asse.

For is not Oppression eche where sore hated

and is not flaterie openly rahated¹? 364

And am not I, Avarice, styll cryed owte vppon?

Adul. Yes, I coulede have tolde you *that*, a greates while agone,
 but I woulde not displease you.

Avar. & youe, Insolence,

¹ ?rabated.

I have harde youe ill spoken of a greate Waie hence. 368

Adul. In my consciens, the devill hymselfe¹ dothe love youe.

Avar. But chaunngeyng your yll name, fewer shall reprove you.

as I, myne owenself, where my name is knownen,

Am right sore assailed, to be overthrowen. 372

But, dooing, as I wyll nowe, countrefaite my name,

I spede all my purposes / & yet escape blame.

Inso. Lett vs then have newe names, eche manne, withowte delaye;

Avar. Els will some of youe make good hanging stuff one daie. 376

Oppr. Thowe must newe christen vs.

Insol / first, what shall my name bee?

Avar. Faithe, sir, your name shalbe Mounsyre Authoritie.

Oppr. And for me what ys your Determinacyon?

Avar. Marye, syr, ye shalbe called Reformacyon. 380

Adul. Nowe, I prairie yowe, devise for me an honest name.

Avar. Thowe arte such a beaste, I cannot for veray shame.

Adul. If ye thinke good, lett me be called Policie.

Avar. Policie—a rope ye shall. Naye, Hipocrisie. 384

Adul. Fy, that were as slaunderous a Name a[s] Flatterye.

Avar. And I kepe for myselfe the Name of Policie,

But if I devise for thee, wylte thowe not shame me? 387

Adul. Naie, I will make the[e] prowde of me or els blame me. [leaf 386]

Avar. Well than, for this tyme thy Name shalbe Honestie.

Adul. I thanke youe, Avaryce, Honestie, Honestie.

Avar. Avaryce, ye whooresone? Policye, I tell the[e].

Adul. I thanke youe, Polycye,—Honestie, Honestie. 392

Howe saie youe, Insolence? I am nowe Honestie.

Avar. We shall att length have a knave of youe, Honestie;

Sayde not I he sholde be called Mounsier Authoritye?

Adul. Oh, frende Oppression, Honestie, Honestie / 396

Avar. Oppression? hah! is the devyll in thye brayne?

Take hede or in faithe ye are flatterye againe.

Policie, Reformacion, Authoritie.

Adul. Hipocrysie, Diffamacion, & Authoritye. 400

Avar. Hipocrysie, hah! hipocrysie, ye dull asse?

Adul. Thowe Namedste Hipocrysie even Nowe, by the Masse.

Insolence shall be y-clept Authority; Oppression, Reformation; and Adulation, Honesty.

But Adulation understandeth not his name nor his comrades names, and is admonished,

¹ selfe above the line.

Avaryse / Polycye, I saide, policye, knave, polycye.
Nowe saye as I sayd.

Adul. Policie, knave policie / 404

Avar. And what callest thoue hym here?

Adul. Dyffamacion.

Avar. I tolde the he shoulde be called Reformacion.

Adul. Veraye well.

Avar. What ys he nowe?

Adul. Deformacon.¹

Avarice. Was ever the like asse borne in all nacions? 408

Adul. A pestell on hym, he comes of the Acyons.

Avar. Come on; ye shall Learne to solfe: Reformacion,
Sing on nowe, Re.

Adul. Re

Avar. Refor.

Adul. Reformacon.

Avar. Policie, Reformacion, Authoritytie. 412

Adulacon. Polycie, Reformacion and Honestie.

Avar. In faithe, ye asse, yf your tong make enie moo trips,
ye shall bothe be flatterie and have on the lips.

And Now, Mounsyre Authoritytie, againste, I youe call; 416

ye muste have other garmentes, and soo muste ye all:

ye muste for the season counterfaite gravitee.

Ins. et Oppr. Yes, what els?

Adul. And I muste counterfaite honestie.

Avar. And I muste tourne my gowne in & owte, I wene, 420
for theise gaping purses maie in no wyse be seen.

I will tourne ytt een here; come helpe me, honestye.

[leaf 366, bk.] *Adul.* here at hande.

Avar. why, how now! plaie the knave, honestie!
helpe, what docest thoue nowe?

Adul. I counterfaite honestie. 424

Avar. Why than, come thoue; helpe me, my frende Oppres-
sion.

what helpe calle youe that?

Oppr. fytt for your discrecion.

Avar. Oh, I shoulde have sayde, helpe, sir Reformacyon.

Oppr. Yea, Marye, sir, that is my Nomynacion. 428

Avar. And whan youe are [in] your Robe, keape yt afore close.

Oppression
must cloak
himself.

¹ There are only three rhymes, and a space for one line is left. A line
is probably lost.

and calleth
Reformation
Diffamation
or Deforma-
tion.

Avarice must
turn his gown
in, and be-
seecheth
help.

Adulation,
turned
Honesty, is
loth.
Avarice for-
getteth the
new names.

Oppr. I praie youe, maister Policie, for what purpose?

Avar. All folke wyll take youe, if theye piepe vnder youre
gowne,

Avarice
biddeth them
go and be
ready.

for the veriest catif in Countrey or towne.

432

Now goe, & when I call, see that ye readie be.

Inso. I will.

Oppr. And I wyll.

Adul. And so will I, Honestie.

[*exeat.*

Avar. Well nowe, Will I departe hens also for a space,

And to bourde Respublica, waite a tyme of grace.

436

Avarice
biddeth his
time to
beguile Res-
publica.

Wherever I fynde hir a tyme convenient.

I shall saie and dooe that maie bee expedient.

[*exeat Avar.*

Actus secundi, scena prima.

Act II, sc. i.

RESPUBLICA.

Respublica. Lorde, what yearethlye thinge is permanent or
stable,

Respublica
bewalleth the
weal of states
how it is
mutable.

or what is all this worlde, but a lumpe Mutable?

440

Who woulde have thought that I, from so florent estate,
coulede have been brought so base, as I am made of Late?

But as the waving seas doe flowe & ebbe by course,

So all thinges else do chaunge to better and to wurse.

444

Greate Cyties, & their fame, in tyme dooe fade and passe;

Nowe is a Champion felde, where Noble Troie was.

Where is the greate Empire of the Medes & Persans?

Where bee tholde conquestes of the puissant Grecians?

448

Where Babilon? where Athenes? where Corinth so wyde?

are thei not consumed, with all their pompe & pryde?

what is the cause heareof, mannes wytte cannot discusse,

but of Long contynnuance the thinge is founde thus.

452

She knoweth
not where-
fore; but
good govern-
ance bringeth
welfare.

Yet by all experience, thus muche is well seen,

That in Comon weales while goode governors have been,

All thing hath prospered; and where suche men dooe lacke,

Comonweales decaye and all thinges do goe backe.

456

what marvaile then yf I, wanting a perfecte staigh

From mooste flourishing welth bee falen in decaye?

But she, hath
no stay.

But, lyke as by default, quike ruine dothe befall,

So maie good governemente att ons recover all.

460

[*Intrat Avar. cogitabundus et ludibundus.*

Act II, sc. ii.

Actus secundi, scena Secunda.

AVARICIA, RESPUBLICA.

[leaf 367]

Entereth
Avarice, but,
seeing not
Respublica,
lamenteth
himself how
he is poor.
And Res-
publica
hopeth for
God's help.

Avar. Alas, my swete bages, howe lanke and emptye ye bee,
but in faithe and trawth,¹ sirs, the fawlte ys not in mee.

Respubl. Well, my helpe and Comforte, oh Lorde, must
come from thee. 463

Avar. And my swete purses heare, I praie youe all, see, see,
how the litle foole[s] gaspe & gape for grumble-sede.

Resp. Iff ytt be thie will, lorde, send somme redresse with
spede.

Yet Avarice
shall glut his
purses,

Avar. But in faithe, goode swete fooles, yt shall cost me a fall,
but I will shortelye fyll you, & stoppe your Mouthes all. 468

Resp. Oh, that ytt were my happe, on frendelye frendes to
light.

and per-
ceiveth Res-
publica where
she is.

Avar. Hahe! who is that same *that* speaketh yonder in sight?
Who ist? Respublica? yea, by the Marye Masse.

Respub. Than might I bee againe as well as ere I was. 472

He must play
his part,

Avar. Hide vp these pipes. Nowe, I praie god she bee
blynde :

I am hault afraide leste she have an yei behynde.

we must nowe chaunnge our Coppie : oh, lorde, whowe I fraie
lest she sawe my toyes & harde whatt I dyd saie. 476

Respub. Is there no goode Manne that on me wyll have
mercye?

Avar. Remembre nowe my name ys Maister Policie :
all thing I tell yowe muste nowe goe by policie.

Resp. Herke ; methinke I heare the name of polycye. 480

and cometh
forward as
Policy,

Avar. Hooe calleth Conscience? heare am I, Polycie.

Resp. I praie youe : come to me if youe be Policie.

Avar. Yea, forsouth, yea forsouthe, my Name ys Polycye.

Resp. I am sore Decaied throughe defalte of polycye. 484

will ease Res-
publica,
albeit good
policy have
been set back.

Avar. Yea, moost Noble Respublica, I knowe that well

And doe more lament yt than enie tong can tell.

For, an if goode policie had had youe in hande,
ye had nowe been the wealthiest in anye lande : 488
but good policie hath long been putte to exile.

Resp. Yea, God wotte ye have been bard from me a greate
whyle.

¹ ? read trowth.

Avar. Yea, I have been putte backe as one cleane of-shaken,
And what can a man do, tyll he be forthe taken? 492

Resp. well, I fele the lacke of *your* helping hande, by the
Roode.

Avar. Alacke, noble ladye, I woulde I coulde doo youe
goode.

Respub. yes, policie; ye might amende all if youe luste. [leaf 387, bk.]

Avar. yea, feithe; I durste put miselfe to youe of truste, 496
but there bee enoughe that for youe coulde shifte make.

Respublica. Yet none like to yowe: if yowe woulde yt vnder-
take, *Respublica* praiseth him,
and entreateth of his aid.

& I will putt miselfe whollye into *your* handes,
Metall, graine, cataill, treasure, goodes & landes. 500

Avar. Well, I will take some paine; but this to youe be
knownen, *Avarice* consenteth, but
forgotteth his part,

I will doe ytt, not for *your* sake, but for myne own.

Respub. Howe saie ye *that*, policie?

Avar. this to yowe bee knownen, and amendeth
his words.

I will doe all for *your* sake and not for myne owen. 504

Resp. I thanke youe, policie.

Avar. Naie, I thanke youe, Ladye,

And I trust ere long to ease all oure Maladie.

will ye putte *yourselfe* nowe whollye into my handes?

Resp. ordre me as youe wyll.

Avar. Treasure, goodes & landes? 508

Resp. yea, everye whitte.

Avar. well, I thanke youe ons againe,

But nowe that youe maie thinke / my dealing trewe & plaine,

And because one cannot doe so well as Mannyne,

Yea¹ muste associate me with mo compaignie: 512

And, first, by my will, ye shall sette vp honestie.

Resp. Marye, with all my veraie harte: but where is he?

Avar. Veray hard to fynde: but I thinke I coulde fetch²
hym.

Resp. Call him straight waies hither, see that nothing lett
him. 516

Avar. It were best if I shall goe fett men for the nones,
to make but one viage & bring them all att ones.

Resp. whome more then hym?

¹ read ye.

² read fett.

and Insolence,

Avar. ye muste stablishe Authoritie.

Resp. That muste needes be doen.

and Oppression,
who will rule
of another
fashion.

*Avar.*¹ And eke Reformation. 520

wee fowre will rewle thinges of another facion.

Resp. Polycye, I prairie youe goe fette all these straight waye.

Avar. Yes, for this *your* present case maie hyde no delaye.

I will goe & come wyth all Festinacon.

524

[*exeat.*]

Republica
beliketh that
Honesty
should be
advanced
and Reformation
forwarded of
Authority,

Resp. I like well this trade of Administracon ;

Policie for to devise for my Comoditee,

No persone to be advaunced but Honestye :

then Reformation, good holsome lawes to make,

528

And Auctorytie see the same effecte maie take.

what comon weal shall then be so happie as I ?

For this (I perceive) is the drifte of policie.

[*Intrat Avaricia adducens* Insol. Oppr. et adulac.]

and praiseth
the diligence
of Avarice.

And behold where he is returned againe seems :

532

he Shewith himselfe a man of diligence.

Act II, sc. iii.

Actus secundi, scena tertia /

ADULACION, AVARYCE, RESPUBLICA, INSOLENCIE / OPPRESSION /

Adulation
protesteth his
willingness
and is re-
proved.

Adul. I will doe hir double servis to another !

Avar. ye double knave youe, will ye never be other ?

Adula. she shall have triple service of me, Honestye. 536

Avar. Ye quadrible knave, we² ye ner vse modestie ? .

Thowe dronken whoresone—doest thowe not see nor perceive

where Republica standes readie vs to receyve ?

Respub. what talke have theye yonder emong them selves

together ?

540

Adul. I have spied hir nowe. Shall I first to hir thither ?

Avar. Softe ; lett me present youe.

Republica
calleth them
unto her.

Resp.

I weene thei be in feare :

Polycye, approche & bring my goode frendes nere.

Avar. Come on, my deare frendes & execute with good wyll

suche offyce as eche of youe shall be putt vntyll.

545

Dame Republica yt ys that for youe hathe sent ;

Come on, Frendes ; I will youe vnto her grace present.

¹ above the line.

² read wi', i. e. will.

- Inso. Oppr.* To serve hir, we are preast with harte & whole
 entent. 548 They ap-
proach.
- Avar.* Madame, I have brought youe these men for whom I
 went.
- Respub.* Policie, I thanke youe / ye have made spiede spede ;
 therefore ye be double welcome / & welcome frendes in dede.
- Avar.* Madame, your grace to serve we all are fullye bente.
- Adul.* And, Madame, ye shall fynde me double diligente. 553 Adulation
urgeth him-
self,
- Resp.* That is spoken of a goode harte : but who bee ye?
- Adula.* Forsouth, madame, my Name ys Maister Honestie.
- Resp.* Honestye? well saide.
- Avar.* Madame, this is honestie. 556
- Adula.* yea, forsouth, an please your grace, I am honestee.
- Avar.* Madame, he is for youe : on my woorde¹ regarde hym.
- Resp.* yes & with large preferment I will rewarde hym.
- Adul.* I thanke your grace. And I will for youe take suche
 pain 560 but betrayeth
his nature
what it is,
- that, ere I deserve one, / ye shall geve me twayne.
- Avar.* Honestie, your tong tripth.
- Resp.* howe saide ye, take such paine?
- Adul.* That ere ye geve me one, I will deserve twaine. and eateth
his words.
- By your lycence, Madame, to take awaie this mote.— 564
- Avar.* Naie, Honestie will not see a wemme on your Cote.
- Nowe vnto youe I commende Reformacon. Avarice
bringeth
forward
Oppression,
- Resp.* Of hym is no small nede² nowe in this Nacion.
- Oppr.* well, Nowe *that* ye bydde me Abuses to redresse,
 I doubt not all enormitis so to represse, 569 who proffer-
eth much.
- As shall redowne to your wealth and honour att length. [leaf 368, bk.]
- Respub.* Thereto shall Authoritee ayde youe with his strength.
- Avar.* yea, for Authoritee to governe ys mooste fytt.
- Insole.* Yf ye, Dame Republica, doe me so admytte, 573
- I doubt not to hamper the prowdeste of them all.
- Resp.* And among youe destroye Avarice.
- Adul.* hem. Republica
chargeth
them to de-
stroy Avarice,
Oppression,
and Adula-
tion,
- Insol. et Oppr.* we shall
- Resp.* vanquishe Oppression and Adulacion, 576
- For those three have nighe wrought my desolacion.
- Avar.* hem, sirs, hem there, kepe your gownes close afore,
 I saie ;

¹ r above the line.² nede above the line.

have ye forgotten nowe what I tolde youe one daye?

There is another, too / that wolde bee chaced hens. 580

Respubl. who is that?

to whom
Avarice
addeth Insol-
ence.

Avar. Lucifers sonne, called Insolence.

Resp. Ye saie truth, and manye Naughtie ones moo then he.

Insol. et Oppr. If ye dare truste vs.

Insol. all.

Oppr. all shall reformed bee. 583

Respublica
giveth them
her mainten-
ance,

Resp. I thanke youe / & I truste youe for my Maintenaunce

To(o) bee administer[d] for your goode governaunce. /

Insol. Than withowte feare or care ye maie youreselfe repose.

Oppr. And lett vs alone with all suche mattiers &¹ those. 587

and leaveth
them to
consult.

Resp. Than I leave yowe heare, on our Affaires to consoulte.
[*exeat Resp.*]

Insol. Whan youe please, in Godes Name.

Oppr. we muste bothe sifte & boulte.

Adul. She is gonne.

Each shall go
about his
business.

Avar. well then, sirs, lett vs make no delays

But abowte our Markett departe, eche manne his waye. 591

Adulation
would sing a
song;
Avarice hath
no time,

Adul. Naie, first lett vs sing a song to lighten our hartes.

Avar. Than are ye like, for me, / to sing but of three partes.

Canne Avarice harte bee sett on a merie pynne

And see no gaine, no profite att all coming in?

Insol. We shall have enoughe to drive awaie all sorowe. 596

but yieldeth.

Avar. Than sing wee 'on bowne viage,' and 'Sainte George
the borowe.'

They sing.

[*Content, 'Bring ye to me & I to ye,' etc., et sic exeant.*]

Act III, sc. I.

Actus tertia, scena prima.

RESPUBLICA. /

Respublica
rejoiceth in
the good
hope, and
under-
standeth why
men do not
despair.

Respub. The goode hope that my mysters have putt me in

to recover rewine that in me dothe beginne,

hathe so recomforted my spirites & myne harte 600

that I feale multe easemente of my greate greefe & smarte.

Nowe I doe lesse woonder that lost men, life to save,

[leaf 389]

Ferre from lande dooe Laboure againste the roing wave.

for hope, I see, hathe mightie Operacion 604

Againste the Mortall sting of drouping desperacion.

¹ read as.

Nowe if I might but heare what policie hathe wrought, 607
 or some one goode thing *that* my frendes to pass had brought,
 I woulde putte no doubt^s but all thing shoulde soone bee well.
 Loe where Cometh Honestie : he wyll the truthe tell.

Yet mis-
 doubteth,
 wotting not
 what Policy
 hath
 wrought,
 and seeth
 Adulation,

Actus terciij, scena secunda.

Act III, sc. ii.

ADULACYON, RESPUBLICA.

Adul. Three Hundred pounde by yeare and a goode manour
 place— who entereth
 exulting in
 his gaine,
 well, yt ys metely well in so shorte tyme and space. 612
 More will come right shortelye ; this yeare dothe gailie walke.
 Bones, heare is Respublica, what vse I suche ta^lke ? and recalleth
 himself.
 I seeke ladie Respublica.

Resp. Loe, I am here,
 And welcome, Honestie. what doe my frendes mooste deare? 616

Adul. Certes, Madame, we reste nor daie nor night nor howre, They rest not
 day nor
 night.
 [To]¹ practise and trauaile for your welth and honoure.

But / O / lorde, what a prudente man ys Policie, He laudeth
 his comrades,
 what a depe heade he hathe to devise & to spie ! 620

Resp. he is fyne in dede.

Adul. Also Reformation.
 howe earenest he is in his Opperacyon.

Resp. I thinke of hym no lesse. /

Adul. Nowe than, Authoritee, 624
 The stowtest in his offyce that ever I dyd see.
 I will no farther prayse them, Madame, / for doubtelesse
 theye ferre sormounte all praise *that* my tong can expresse.
 yee maie blesse the tyme ye mette with suche as thei bee,
 And I doe my poore parte. /

Resp. I doubte not, Honestee, 628
 And condinge Rewarde shall ye all have for your paine.

Adul. I have scarce an howse wherin myselfe to mayntayne.

Resp. HONESTIE shall not lacke.

Adul. I doe not crave nor care. 632
 we shall take but scraps & refuse, that ye maie spare.
 we will not encroche the peoples Comoditee ;
 we shall take onelie that maie come with honestie.

but com-
 plaineth of
 poverty and
 is reassured,
 and affecteth
 indifferance
 and self-
 sacrifice.

¹ From this point a worm has eaten right through the MS. Restorations are placed within square brackets.

Respub. Christes blessing have ye; but loe, yonder cometh
People.

People enters
and Adulation
is distressed.

Adul. I had thought as soone to have mette here Paules
steeple. 636

Act III, sc. iii.

Actus terciij, scena tertia.

PEOPLE, ADULACION, RESPUBLICA.

People asketh
for Respub-
lica.
Adulation
understand-
eth not,

People. Whares Rice-puddingcake? I praie God she bee in
heale.

Adul. Who? Rice-puddingcake?

peopl.

Yea, alise dicts comonweale.

Adul. I knowe hir not.

peopl.

masse, youe liest valeslye in your harte.

[leaf 369, bk.]

She is this waie. che wart, a false harlot youe arte. 640

Adul. I knowe Respublica.

peopl.

yea, Marie, whare is shee?

and pretend-
eth she is
busy.

Adul. She is buisie nowe./

peopl.

Masse, ere iche goe, chill hir zee,

for this waie she came.

Respub.

lett my people come to mee.

Adulac. God forbydde els. Come on, People, is this same
shee? 644

People. yea, malkin ist.

Respublica
welcometh
People.

Resp.

People, what wolde with me nowe?

Peopl. Marye, mustres, madame, my ladie, howe doe youe?

Respub. Even so so, people. I thanke youe withall my
Harte:

And I hope for better.

Peopl.

Than lett poore volke ha zome parte, 648

People com-
plaineth he is
more afflicted
than ever
before,

vor we Ignoram people, whom itche doe perzente,

wer ner zo I-polde, zo wrong, and zo I-torment.

Lorde Ihese Christe whan he was I-pounst & I-pilate,

was ner zo I-trounst as we have been of yeares Late. 652

Adul. how so? who hathe wrought to youe such extremytees?

but knoweth
not how,

peopl. Naie, to tell how zo, passeth our Captyvytee.

Respub. It passeth anie mans Imaginacion.

but trusteth
Respublica
that she
loveth him.

people. youe zai zouth; yt passeth anie mans madge mason;

vor we pynke ye love vs as well as ere ye dyd. 657

Respub. My love towardees youe, my people, cannot be hydda.

people. And we pinke ye woulde we zelie poore volke did well.

Respub. And better then ere ye dyd / if howe, I coulde tell.
people. And we pinke ye woulde we zelum poore volke sholde
 thrive. 661

Respub. Yea, doubtles as anye lyke creature alive.

Adul. What nede ye of hir goode will towards yowe to
 doubt? Adulation
interrupteth.

people. peace, thoue with zorowe, and let me tell my tall owte. People will
speak.

Respub. Saie on, my good people / let me heare your mynde.

people. Bum vei, we ignoram people, beeth not zo blinde 666 People
grieveth
that all
commodities
lessen, and
prices rise.

but we passive, ther falleth of corne & cattall,
 wull, shepe, / woode, leade, tynne, Iron, & other metall, 668

and of all pinges, enoughe vor goode and badde,

and as commediens vor vs, as er, we hadde.

and yet the price of everye thing is zo dere,

as thoughe the grounde dyd bring vorth no suche no where. 672

Respub. Indede, I have enoughe if yt be well ordered;

but fewe folke the better, yf I bee misordered. Respublica
hath enough,
if she be well
ordered.

People. Nai, now youe zai zouth / een pieke same waie goeth
 the hare;

Ill ording tis, hath made bothe youe and wee threde bare. 676

Adulacion. what naughtie folkes were thei / can yowe their
 names reade?

People. Yea, that I scan, a whole messe of om for a neade.

There is vorste and vormooste Flatterie, ill a pee,

A slypper, suger-mowthed howrecop as can bee; 680

he fiereth on youe / & beareth vs faire in hande

And therewhile robbeth bothe youe & we of our Lande.

Than cometh the sowre roughe crabbed childe Oppression:

he tumbleth whom a lust, owte of possession. 684

Than ys there the thirde, I scantot membre his Name.

what call ye pieke same felowes,—God geve them a shame,—

that beeth styll clymbing vp a lofte for promydence

And cannot be content with their state?

Adul. Insolence. 688

people. yea, picke same is he, 'zorylesse.'

Resp. Naie, Insolence.

people. well, hele roile all the roste alone, cha harde yt zaide,

orls make the best of them agaste & afraide.

And zuche goode men as coulde & woulde ordre youe well, 692

he is so copped, he nil not suffre to mell.

[leaf 370]
People sayeth
who oppress
him: Flattery
who relveth
them of their
land, Oppres-
sion, who
taketh away
their own,
and a third
whose name
he forgetteth.

Insolence
suffereth not
the good to
rule.

If theye wylnot be rolde, then hence oute¹ of favoure
 [Yea and per]haps corrupte om zore vor their Labour.
 yet he and thother twaine weorke all after the vice 696
 of cha-forget²-tone-name; tother is Covetise;
 pieke hongri howrecop hath suche a policate wytte³,
 That he teacheth them to rake and scrape vp eche whytt.
 And zo these vowre (but it shall never come owte for me) 700
 volke thinke will never cease to spoile bothe youe & me.
 vor sometime thei face vs / and call vs peason knaves
 And zwareth, 'Goddess bones, thei will make vs all slaves.'
 Tharevore chwas besiraunce your ladidom to zee 704
 and to geve youe warning.

Resp. heare ye this, **Honestye?**
people. well and God emend all, an⁴ abee zo good a clerke—
Resp. heare ye this, **Honestie?** /
people. / though tynkers sholde lacke worka.
Resp. I am putte in comferte all shall shortelye emende: 708
Adul. itt ys in goode waie alreadye / els Godde defende.
Respub. Loe, People, hearest thoue this? be of good cheare.
peop. yea, iche heare his vaire wordes: but what beeth we the
 neare?
Respub. People, vnderstande ye that this ys **Honestee.** 712
peopl. whare a bee, trowe? masse, cha zeen zome as zmothe as
 hee,
 have be a trial, bee vound valse flatterers to bee.
Respub. I take this man for no suche: this ys **Honestee.** 715
people. A gaye smoult smirking howrecop tis, zo mot I pee.
Respub. well, credite my wordes, people / this ys **Honestee.**
People. whan Is fynde ytt, chil beleve yt.
Resp. tys **Honestie.**
people. Iscrye hym mercye than.
Resp. he and **Authoritytee**
 Ioignyng with Policie & Reformacyon 72
 Travaile to restore tholde welth to this nacion.
people. Whoughe, than; chil warte all within twoo years =
 plentye
 as twas any tyme within these yeres twyse twentye.
 but how maye we knowe & see that this thyng ys trewe? 7

People com-
plaineth of
Avarice, how
he teacheth
his compeers.

They abuse
People, who
addresseth
himself to
Respublica.

Respublica
turneth to
Adulation,

and is assured
all shall be
well.

People dis-
trusteth fair
wordes,

and mis-
doubteth
Honesty if
this be he.

[leaf 371, bk.]

Respublica
describeth
her govern-
ance.

People will
be patient if
the promise
be sooth.

¹ oute above the line.

² MS. of cha for yet.

³ At the side: the scribe had missed out one line.

⁴ MS. and.

Adulacion. Ye shall prove att length by theeffecte *that* shall ensue.

Adulation
assevereth
that good
shall be,

peop. Nai, and we shall alwaie bee served but with shales ;
than chil beleve een still / *that* vaine woordes beeth but tales.

Adul. The thing alreadie to suche forwardnes ys brought, 728
That muche to *your* benefytte ys alreadie wrought.

peop. Yea ? What any goode acte have ye alreadye doone ?

Adul. It ys but yong daies yet ; thinges are but nowe begone :
the frewte of *our* dooinges cannot so soone appeare. 732

and asketh
for time :
in seven years
he shall
succeed.

but, people, ye shall feele ytt within seven yeare.

Ye knowe it is no small weorke from so greate decaie.

Respub. People, he saith truthe.

Respublica
confirmeth
him.

Adul. to sett all in good staighe.
therefore bee ye quiet, and hope for a goode ende. 736

people. Yes, chil tarie laisure / & take what God shall send.

People and
Respublica
will wait
together.

Respub. Than, people, let vs twaine / departe in quietnesse,

For this talking here / maye hinder theire buisnesse. } *[exeat.]*
peopl. Come on : I chil waite avor youe, and bee } 740
your manne.

Adul. And I will to my fealows as faste as I canne.

Adulation is
alone, and
sweareth to
avenge this
troubling,

Bee thei gone ? fare well theye / god sende them bothe the pippe !

but, in feith, people, I will have youe on the hyppe :

I wilbe even with youe for *your* brode carping. 744

Ah ! ye peasaunte wretche, on vs fowre to bee harping !

And yet muste we *our* Mattiers handle descetelye,

but must
consult with
his comrades.

orels, I feare, yt will ende not veraye swetelye.

but nowe I wolde Avarice orels Insolence, 748

or Oppression were heare rather then six pence.

And Loe where Avarice comth, a woulff in the tale !

(as the proverbe saithe) what dothe he after hym hale ? 751

Actus terciij, scena quarta.

Act iii, sc. iv.

AVARICE, ADULACION, OPPRESSION.

Avar. Come on, swete bags of golde / come on with a good
will ; 752

Entereth
Avarice,
intent on his
bags.

I on youe soo tendre ; & ye soo frowarde styll ?

Come forewarde, I prairie youe, swete bags : ah, will ye soo ?

Come, or I must drawe youe whether ye will or noo.

I knowe *your* desire ; ye woulde faine bee in my chest. 756

[leaf 371]
They would
fain be at
rest, for they
are full.

He seeth
Adulation,
and mistrust-
eth him.

Adulation
asketh how
he hath got-
ten them.

Avarice
repleth.

Oppression
entereth,
whom they
know not.

when the bealie is full, the bones woulde bee att reast.
bee contente awhile; I will couche youe all vp soone,
where ye shalnot bee spied neither of Sonne nor Mone.
what nowe, brother Honestie? what pryde ye this waie?

760

is there eni thing here that ys yours, can ye saie?
looke of from my baggs, yt ys a pretye Matier;
ye can see no grene cheese / but your teethe wyll watier /

Adul. In nomine patris, hast thowe gotte all this syens?

Avar. whi, thinkest thowe I have sett ydle sens I went hens?
Naie, I have filled my lytle purses too, eche one.

Adul. hast thow so in dede? thowe arte a felowe alone.

Avar. with olde Aungelots and Edwardes I thinke I have. 768
Come forthe. how saie ye, sir? pepe out, ye litle knave.
howe thinke youe by this bunting? is he full or no?
And his felowes all, dothe not theire skinne stretche for wo?
Now their litell buttons, no bygger than twoo Nuttes, 772
have theye not plaied gluttons, & filled well their guttes?

Adul. But looke, who cometh yonder puffing and tuffing?

Avar. Come the devill, yf hym luste, staring and snuffing. 775

Act III, sc. v.

Actus tertij, scena quinta.

OPPRESSION, AVARICE, ADULACION.

Oppression
is weary,

Oppr. In all my whole life was I never werier. 776

Avar. Come nere, on Goddes halfe, the mo knaves the merier.
where have ye lost your breath? in some cofer dyvinge?

Opp. Shouldering emonge them for a peice of a lyvinge.

Adulacion. And what, are yowe nowe, in any goode hope to
thryve? 780

he hath many
bishopricks.

Oppr. Feithe, if I luste, I maie were myters fowre or fyve:
I have so manye haulfe bisshoprikes at the leaste.

"Honesty"
hath not
thriven the
like.

Adul. by tharmes of Callis / than am I a verye beaste. 783

Avar. why, what hast thowe gotten to thie share in this space?

Adul. three hundred pound by the yeare and one manior
place.

Avarice
pitieth him
and upbraids
eth, as a
foolish
partner.

Avar. Ah, the passhen of God / three hundred pownd &
no more?

Adul. Is not that faire for hym that had nothing before?

Avar. what, three hundred pound by years? call the[e]
Honestee? 788

¹Call thee a knave! thowe shamest *our* fraternitee.
 three hundred pounce? if some man had been in this rome,
 A thowsaunde pounce a yeare / ere this tyme might have come.
 Three hunderd pounce a yeare? againste *our* next metinge, 792
 geate more/ or I shall geve a homlye greetinge. /

Adul. he here hathe flytched the bisshoprikes alreadie.

Avar. yea, I can him thanke, he hathe been somewhatt spedie.

Oppr. But yet have I lefte many a goode gobbet looce: 796
 Chaunge thowe for² the reast / geve a fether for agooce.

Adula. Didst thowe with anie one of them make suche
 exchange?

Oppr. Yea, I almoste leaft them never a ferme nor graunge; ³
 I tolde them Republica at their wealth dyd grutche, 800
 & the fyfte pennie thaye had, was for them to muche.
 So Authoritee & I, did with them soo choppe
 that we lefte the best of them a thredebare bisshop:
 to some we lefte one howse, to some we left none, 804
 The beste had but his see place, that he might kepe home.
 we enfourmed them / & we defourmed theym.
 we confourmed them, & we refourmed theym.

Adul. And what gave ye them in your permutacons? 808

Oppr. Bare parsonages of appropriacions
 Bought from Republica & firste emprowed,
 than, at the higheste extente to bisshops allowed,
 leate owte to their handes for fowrescore & [nyneteen] yeare. 812

Avar. Loe, cosyn honestee, loe, doo ye heare this geare?

Faith your Marsship will thrive att the latter Lammass.

Adul. I nowe graunte myselfe to have been a verye asse;
 but all ys not yet gonne / in case I have goode lucke. 816

Oppr. No, there is yet enoughe left, for a better plucke.
 For some of them were aged & yet would not dye,
 and some would in no wyse to owre desyres applye.
 But we have Roddes in pysse for them everye chone, 820
 that they shalbe flyced yf we reigne, one by one.

Avar. And howe dyd all frame with *our* Mounsire Authoritye?

Oppr. Att length he wonne the full superioritytee.

Adul. But the rude grosse People at hym repyneth sore; 824
 and againste vs all fowre with a wyde throte dothe he rore.
 But softe, peace! me thinketh, I here hym hem and hake:
 If we mete here all fowre, we shall some ordre take.

Adulation
 complaineth,
 the bishoprics
 are gone.

[leaf 871, bk.]
 But Oppres-
 sion saith he
 hath not yet
 all.

Oppression
 hath left the
 bishops
 nought but
 their sees,

and hath
 given in
 exchange
 parsonages,
 sold at great
 profit and let.

'Honesty'
 hath been
 indeed slow.

Oppression
 hath some
 pickings left.

Insolence
 governed all.
 Adulation
 sayeth how
 the people
 pineth; but
 Insolence
 entereth.

¹ Here the scribe copied l. 800 and then struck it out.

² for above the line.

³ MS. graunce.

Act III, sc. vi.

Actus terciij, scena sexta.

INOLENCE, ADULACION, OPPRESSION, AVARICE.

Insolence. What, myne olde frendes all three ? by my truthe,
sirs, well founde. 828

Adul. et Oppr. feith, syr, mooste hartelye welcome into this
grownde.

Insolence
wondereth at
the bags.

Insol. Bones, what have we here ?

Avar. a hah !

Insol. bags of money, I trowe.

Avarice will
have them all
and guard
them ;

Avar. Have we ? Naie, I have, but none for youe, *that* I
knowe !

[leaf 372]

Loe, sir, thus might an honeste man come to his harmes.

I will lye downe on them & kepe theym in myne armes. 833

Insol. Haste thowe gotte all this ? I miselfe have not so
muche.

and the
castles Inso-
lence hath, he
hath through
" Policy."

Avar. Than have ye whole townes & castells : I have none
suche :

yet wyll ye not denie, I iudge in my fansie, 836
that ye gotte theym by the drifte of me, Policie.

Insol. I confesse that.

Oppr. all my landes are scarce so muche woorth.

Avarice hath
won most.

Avar. Thei were lesse, when I, policie, firste sett yowe foorth.

Adul. he hathe purses with golde, woulde I had so manie.

Avar. It were pittie *that* suche a gooce shoulde have enie. 841
yours good Masship appointed me to crummes & scraps,
but Policie wyll lyve by his neighbours, perhaps.

Avarice will
safeguard his
bags from his
compeers,

But thus I see you woulde polle me, an ye wiste howe ; 844
therefore I will goe hoorde yt, I make God a vowe ;

I will make yt sure vnder myne doores and myne lockes,
and who but looketh that waie, shall syt in niene stockes.

Insol. Naie, fyrste declare to vs howe thowe didst all this
geate. 848

but will
declare how
he hath them
gotten, if
they stand
afar.

Avar. For your learning, I will youe a spectacle sette.
but fyrst gette ye from me, & stande a goode waie hence :

This shallnot lye within *your* reache, by youre lycence.

Naie, yet farther, lest ye take my bagges for bluddinges, 852
for suche hongrye doggs will slabbe vp sluttishe puddinges.

Adul. Is yt well nowe ?

Avar. yea, nowe hardelie stand there styll,

- and the Names of my baggs to yowe declare I will.
 Firste and foremoste, this bagg is my veraie cleare gaine
 of leasses encroched and fourthwith solde againe.
 This bag is myne intresse, of thys yeares userie,
 and this is of Mattiers bolstred vp with periurie.
 This is bribes above my stipende in officis;
 This fifth I have by selling of benefices.
 This ys my rentes that my clerkes yearelye render me,
 to bee & contynue in offyce vnder me.
 This same I got by sectourshipp of my Mother,—
 A vengeance on hir, old witche, for suche an other.
 This bag have I kepte of other sectourships whole,
 whiche the Madde knaves woulde had scattred by penie dole. /
 This is of Churche goodes scraped vpp withoute a lawe,
 For which was as quicke scrambling as ever I sawe;
 of their plate, their iewels & copes we made them lowtes,
 Stopping peoples barking with lynnens rags & clowtes.
 Thei had thalter clothes, thalbes and amices
 with the sindons in which wer wrapte the chalices.
 This nyneth hath beguiled the king of his custome; /
 This tenth of selling counterfaicte wares hath come.
 Nowe this eleventh is of tallowe, Butter, Cheese,
 Come, Raweclothes, leether, by stelth sent beyond seas.
 This twelfth is of grayne, bell meatall, tynne and lead
 Conveighd owte by crekes whan Respublica was in bed.
 This thirteenth I filled throughe facing owte of dawes,
 bothe from landes and goodes by pretence of the lawes.
 Thus these thirteen smale Iobbes are myne by policie:
 All men must shifte for a poore Lyving honestlye.
 If er I bestowe them, yt shalbee the nexte Lent
 to the Prioure of Prickingham and his covent.
Adul. well nowe, we maie come nere, maie we not if we lust?
Avar. ye are nere enoughe: oute of my reache I dare yowe
 trust.
Adul. well, Nowe lett vs sing, yf ytt please Authoritee,
 to refreshe oure spirites yt ys restorytee.
Insol. I recke not for Compaignie sake to sing once [more.]
Avar. I have lesse minde to sing nowe then I had before:
 than had I no luste to sing because I was bare,
 And nowe howe to kepe that I have gotte, I doe care.
- 856 The first bag
is of leasses
encroached
and resold;
the second
and third of
interest and
perjured
usury;
860 the fourth,
bribes of
office;
the fifth, sales
of livings;
the sixth, his
clerks' fees
for service;
the sixth and
seventh from
sectorships;
864
868 the eighth, of
church goods
(People was
gagged);
872
the ninth, of
fischings from
the customs;
[leaf 373, bk.]
876 the tenth,
forged wares;
the eleventh
from wrong-
ful exports;
the twelfth, of
grain and
other goods
smuggled
away;
880 the thirteenth
from
deceivings of
simpletons,
884 how he may
bestow them.
- 888 Adulation
would fain
sing.
Avarice is
loth, for he
is still filled
with care.

Oppr. Solace we muste nedes have whan *that* we are werie.

Adul. It *prolongethe* life of Manne to bee merye.

He suffereth
their singing,
if they gaze
not at his
bags.

Avar. An if ye singe so muche, honestie, *withowte* faile, 8—96

Christe & youe at length, I feare, will make a battaile.

But goe too, sing on, yf there be no remedie :

An ye Loke at my bags, ye marre my melodie.

(Cantent, Hey noney nony houghe for money etc.)

Oppr. Now, aboutht *profitte* devise we *ourselves* abroad. 9— 00

Avarice
warneth
them to
make hay
while the sun
shines,

Avar. Yea, and heare ye, Maisters! while time is laie on lode,


Consider ye have but a tyme of hey Making,

And harvest is not mued *withowte* peines taking.


Nowe tyme willnot tarye & therefore take good hede : 9— 04

despache while tyme *serveth* and all your matie[r]s spede.

Tyme hath no reine nor bridle / but renneth a pace.

Insol. Marke Policies woordes / sirs, excellent in our cace. 

for time
revealeth all,


Avar. And tyme hathe this one vngracious propertee  08

to blab at length & open all that he dothe see.

Than a daughter eke he hath, called Veritee,

As vnhappye a long-tounged girle as can be.


and hath a
daughter,
Verity, who
blabbeth.

she bringeth all to light, some she bring[eth] to shame,  12

she careth not a grote what Manne hath thanke or blame.

yf men be praise worthie, she dothe so declare them,

And if otherwyse, in faithe, she dothe not spare them.

Oppress. we will feather oure nestes, ere tyme maye vs esp  17

Avarice
warneth
them to take
time by the
forelock, but
in Latin,
which
Oppression,
who owneth
many bishop-
rics, under-
standeth not.

Avar. Remembre this verse, ut sint omnia salva,


Fronte capillata, post hec occasio calva.

oppr. Make me vnderstande that fyne rag of rhetorike. 9 20

Avar. Loe, here a fyne felowe to have a bisshopricke !

a verse of latynne he cannot vnderstande,

yet dareth he presume boldelye to take in hande,

Into a-deanerie or Archdeaconrye to choppe,  24


And to have the livelood awaie from a bisshopp.

Oppr. [A mercie, shewe]¹ thie verse and leave thys perswasion .

Avarice ex-
plaineth the
myth of the
goddess
Occasion.

Avar. Forsouth, sir, yt was of the goddesso occasyon.

She weareth a greate long tuffet of heare beefore,

and behinde hathe not one heare / neither lesse nor more.  28

whereby is taught youe that, when Occasyon ys,

¹ Here Prof. Brandl suggests 'beschrewe,' but four syllables are wanted.

ye muste take yt be tyme / or of your purpose mysse.

Adul. Than, while Occasion doeth nowe serve soo well / 932

I prais youe geve eare to one thing *that* I must tell.

Inso. et Oppr. what ys that?

Adul. Mounsire, yf ye heare people mumbling,
ye muste storme & sharpelye take hym vp for stumbling.
ye woulde not thinke what he said a litle while sens 936
of vs, to Respublica / in myne owne presence.

Adulation ad-
viseth them
of People
how he is
discontent.

Inso. Whan I mete them nexte / I shall tell them bothe my
mynde.

Avar. And policie to helpe youe / wyll not be behinde.

Adul. Ientle Respublica was soone pacified. 940

Insolence and
Avarice will
browbeat
him.
Avarice
teacheth how
to use Res-
publica.

But people was sturdie & woulde not be qualified.

Avar. Alas, good poore selie sowle, beare heare faire in hand,
And ye maie wyne hyr / as youe lust to vse hyr land.

Oppr. But of goddesse Occasion one lytle more. 944

Avar. Marye, sir /, even as I woulde have said before,
she standeth with winged feete on a rolling whele
to take flyght, or anie grasse maie growe on hir hele.
And even while we stand, iangling in this presence,
I dare saie she is flouen twise twentie score myle hence.

Oppression
wishing to
know more
of Occasion,
Avarice
answereth,
that time
flies, and so
they all
depart.

Oppr. yea? cockes bones / than Adew /

Insol. farewell /

Adul. and I am gone.

[*exeat currentes.*]

Avar. Feithe and have after, as faste as I can anon.

Now, my goddamighties, as I dyd hither tugg youe, 952

So will I on my backe to your lodging lugg youe.

And sure, yf ye can be quiet there, and lye styll,

I will shortelye bring youe moo felowes; so I wyll.

I have a good benefyce of an hunderd Markes; 956

yt is smale policie to give suche to greate clerkes—

They will take no benefice, but thei must have all;

A bare clerke canne bee content with a lyving smale.

Therefore, sir Iohn Lacke Latten, my frende, shall have myne,

And of hym maie I ferme yt for eyght powndes or nyne. 961

The reste maie I reserve to myselfe for myne owne share,

For wee are good feeders of the poore, so wee are;

and we patrones are bounde to see (I dooe youe tell) 964

The churchie patrimonie to be bestowyd well:

[leaf 373, bk.]
Avarice,
alone,
addresseth
his bags,

and will add
to them by
appointing a
curate to a
benefice,

for he feedeth
the poor well,
and can
bestow other
Church patri-
monies.]

other od corners besydes these I have mannye,
which withall good spede shall encrease your comp[aignie.]

He draggeth
his bags
home.

Come on now, therefore : In feith, I doo greate wronge, 968
to promise you lodging & kepe youe thens so long. [*exeat.*]

Act IV, sc. i.

Actus quarti, scena prima.

RESPUBLICA.

Respublica
remaineth ill
at ease, for
People is still
aggrieved,

Respub. O lorde, what maie yt meane to bee thus borne in hand,

And yet none emendment to fele nor vnderstand ?
People dothe dailie and hourelve to me resorte,
Chalenging my promise of relief and comforte.

72

and seeth no
advance.

I reporte to hym, as my rewlars doe to mee :
People still affirmeth that they devourers bee.

The more I doo hym chere / the more he dothe dispaire : 976

I saie his wealth doeth mende, he saithe it dooeth appaie.
what shoulde I iudge of this ? maie yt bee credible,
or by anie reason maye yt be possible,

Can her rulers
be unjust ?

That suche fowre as those in whome I have putt my truste,
shewing suche face of frendship, shoulde bee men vniuste ? 981

People ap-
proacheth.

I will knowe if people feele yet anye redresse
of his former sors & of hys rufull distresse.

we shall meete soone, I doubte not, & talke together, 984
And loe, as I woulde wishe, he approacheth hether.

[*Intrat* people.]

Act IV, sc. ii.

Actus quarti, scena secunda.

RESPUBLICA, PEOPLE.

Respub. well mette, People, what place goe ye nowe vntoo ?

People is in
extremity.

Peopl. I cham at the ferthest to zee howe youe doo.

we twayne must eft whiles come fisike either other, 988
vor wee beethe your children, and youe beethe our Mother.

[leaf 374]

Respublica. / And howe doo youe mend now in your thrifte
& your purse ?

people. As zoure ale in sommer, that is still wurse & wurse.

Respub. People, what sholde I saie ?

people.

nai, masse, I scannot tell :

but we ignorams all woulde faine ye shoulde doe well ; 993

and how fele youe yourselfe? better then ye dyd trowe?

Respub. Till God send better happe, rather decaie then growe. *Respublica is not happy;*
this bringeth me in a conceipte of zelousye. 996

Rather than muche goode, would I speake with Policie.

peopl. was not he drownde, trowe, last years, whan Conscience *was not Policy lost even with Conscience? Avarice draweth near.*
was?

Respub. I see hym yonder appere: this cometh well to passe.

Peopl. Is this same he?

Resp. yea.

peopl. an iche heard not you zo zai 1000

Choulde zware a had bee deade, orels cleane renne awaye.

Actus quarti, scena tertia.

Act IV, sc. iii.

[AVARICE], RESPUBLICA, PEOPLE.

Avar. O mooste noble Ladie, that I have not of late
Made to youe relacion how ye stande in state,
hath not been of negligence, nor to weo[r]ke by stelthe
but of my depe studies devising for *your* wealth. 1004

Avarice excuseth himself for long absence.

Respub. To heare the truthe thereof, I wished youe to see.

People. Dooeth youe studd *your* braines, mace Ientman, man,
praie youe tell me,

People lendeth not ear to the zeal of Avarice.

for our Ladie Rice puddingcakes commoditee?

Avar. I devyse what I canne for the prosperitee 1008
of thys Ladie Respu[b]lica / & hyr people.

Peopl. That lye, ere this, is flowen as ferre hens as Polle
staple.

I spraiie god ye studde not, as cha hard of zome elves
that studdie for the comon profytte of theire owne selves. 1012

Avar. To studie for both *your* welthes, I am a debtor.

peopl. vaye than, as goode ner a whitt as ner the better.

Avar. I doo nothing but Coumpace therefore, withowte
doubte. 1015

peopl. I, vey then, the[e] vet to[o] ferre a coumpace abowte.

*V*or zome good might ha bee doone in all this season.

Avar. So there is, if to perceive ytt, ye had reason.

Respub. Truelie, I fele miselfe hitherto wurse and wurse.

people. And I svele the same, bothe in my grownde and my
purse; 1020

But Respublica feeleth herself how she is unwell, and six or seven years ago People was prosperous.

*V*ive or zixe yeare ago chad vowre kine to my paille,

RESPUBLICA.

D

& att this prezent howre cham scarce woorth a good cove
taile;¹

and that tyme chad a widge, and hir vole & tenne shepe;¹

[leaf 374, bk.] Nowe I scan geate nothing my zelve and my wife to kepe. 1024

Than an chad, I bee with the kinges masse counstable,
Choulde zette myselfe voorth pretelye & zo chwas hable.

Now vor lacke of a sallet whan my lyege hath neade,
cham vaine to take an hatte of godsgood on my heade. 1028

And, vor God, my Dame, this ys but small amendement.
I scomporte me to youe: howe thinketh youre iudgement?

He upbraids
eth Avarice,

Coumpacing? ka! Ientman, call ye thissame coumpacing?
And / whom shall we twaine thanke, youe, for this compacing?

Avar. No, sir. 1033

peop. Nowe by the compace that god coumpaced!

Respub. Blame have thei of God & man, that this compaced.

Peopl. A small coumpace more, nowe, maie zoone Coumpace,
by throod,

To make fowertie thowsaunde volkes heare growe throughe their
hood. 1036

who cannot
explain.

Avar. That is their owen faulte, not the faulte of policie.

Respub. God above he knowith whose faulte it is & not [I].

Peopl. but did not yche daylie geve youe warning?

Resp. doubtlesse. —

peopl. And dyd not yche plaine me to youe?

Resp. I graunte no lesse. 1040

peopl. And whan ich made my mone / what woulde [ye] to
me tell?

Respub. as my hope was, that att length althing shoulde
bee well.

peopl. Coumpacing? ka!

Resp. people, I put truste in other.

peopl. valse bezeivers of zembitee, by Godds Mother. 1044

Avarice
asketh leave
to bring his
compeers.

Avar. well, suffer me then for my declaracion

to fett Authoritee and Reformation

That ye maie bothe heare & charge them as well as me.

Respub. with² all my harte, goode Policie, let ytt so bee. 1045

I prairie youe, call theim hither, if thei maie bee gotte.

people. Anche heare om, I scan tell where thei saie true or not.

¹ Transposed and marked *ba* in MS.

² with for with.

Actus quarti, scena quarta.

Act IV, sc. iv.

AVARICE, INSOLENCIE, RESPUBLICA, OPPRESSION, PEOPLE.

Avar. The fowlest open-mowthd whretch *that* eare ye harde.*Insol.* Coudest thoue by no meanes make the peasaunte
afearde? 1052*Avar.* No, but anon I trowe we shall his Masship trym;
Conveighe hir awaie / & than all wee three chide hym,
But whiste and come apace.*Avarice*
abuseth
People whom
he could not
hush, but
they shall
convey Res-
publica away,
and drive
*him forth.**Respub.* I here Policies voyce.*Avar.* That I mette youe so well, I doe muche reioyce. 1056
Ladye Republica, woulde youe come hir before.

[leaf 375]

Insolence. Madame, God ye save.*Oppr.* & preserve for evermore.*Resp.* This is happie hadde ye come soo soone tighther. 1059*Avar.* As I went, I mette them bothe twaine hasting hether.*Resp.* Never in better tyme.*Insol.* Madame, what is your will?*Oppress.* Is there eni thing *that* youe woulde saie vs vntill?*Respub.* People cryeth oute & I am muche agrieved
That we fele oure selves in nothing yet relived. 1064*Insolence and*
Oppression
sak of Res-
publica what
she desireth.
Republica is
*not relieved.**Oppr.* No? that is not true; Mannie declare I canne.—*Respub.* Even in briefe woordes / I praie youe, doe yt than.*peopl.* Praie youe lett me spouse with thissame new comme
gentman.*Insol.* No, sir.*Peopl.* Masse, but chil speake anche can spie my tyme whan.*Oppr.* Firste, youre priestes & bisshops have not as thei
have had. 1069*Oppression*
salth first the
Church is
poorer, but
then People
*was fed.**Resp.* [whan] they had theire Lyvinges, men were bothe
fedde and cladde.*Oppress.* Yea, but they ought not by scripture to be calde
lordes.*But Church-*
men should
*not be lordes,**Respub.* That thei rewle the church with scripture well
accordes. 1072*except over*
*the Church.**oppr.* Thei were prowde and covetous / & tooke muche vpon
theim.*Were they*
*not proud?**people.* but they were not covetous that tooke all from theym.*And is Re-*
formation
not proud?
The coin is
changed
*to worse,**oppr.* The coigne eke is chaunged.*pepl.* yea from silver to drosse,

for People
payeth in
the new coin,
but receiveth
in the old.

(twas tolde vs) vor the beste; but poore wee bare the losse!
whan chad with zwette of browes got vp a fewe smale crum
att paing of my debtes ich coulede not make my sommes. 10
my landlorde vor my corne / paide me zuche sommes & zuch
whan he should hate vor rent, yt was but haulfe zo mucho.
zix pence in eche shilling was I-strike quite awaie,
zo vor one piece iche tooke, che was vaine to paie him twaie.
one woulde thinke twer brasse, &, zorowe have I els,

The new Coin
is forged out
of Church
bells.
Insolence
saith People
hath more
money.
People can-
not answer.

But, ichwin, mooste parte ont was made of *our* olde bells. 10

Insol. Yet, if ye Marke ytt well, for one peice ye have thr
whiche for *your* people is no smale Commoditie.

Peop. well, I will medle in thissame matier no more,

but Is recke not an twer ziluer as twas avor. 11

Oppr. People, ye shall att lengthe finde ytt all for the bes

People. Cha harde our parrishe clarke saye diuum es

Iustlum weste.

Respub. vndoubtedly, I fele many thinges are amisse. 11

[leaf 375, bk.]
People telleth
how the
woods are
destroyed,
and grazings
have made
meat dear.

People. Yea, I scan tell moo thinges yet, an me luste by II

Thei have all the woodes throughout the realme destroyed,
which might have served long yeares, beeing well employed.

& than the greatte cobbles have zo take the reste to hire,

that poore volke cannot gett a sticke to make a fire. 10

Than their great grazing hath made fleshe so dere, I wotte,

that poore volke att shambles cannot bestowe their grotte.

Republica
lamenteth.

Resp. I lamente yt, People. Alac, what maie I doe?

I miselfe, I feare, shall come to ruine toe.¹

11

Policie, what counforte? whan will youe ease my smarte?

Avarice saith
she is safe.

Avar. ye are as safe even now, but for *your* false harte,

As any ladie of *your* name in Christendome.

Peopl. If iche had zo zaide, chad lied by my holidome. 11

Resp. Ye heare what People saith *which* feleth as I doe?

Shall she
believe the
ignorant
People?

Avar. But rude Peples wordes will ye geve credyte vnto?

will ye iudge *yourself* after his foolishe [iangling]?

ye wer well enoughe tyll he begonne his wrangling. 11

Insol. will ye beleve People that hath no manier of skill

to iudge or to descerne what thing is good or yll?

he is so headstrong, he muste bee bridled with Lawes.

Peopl. Though zome bee starke bedlems, yet wise voll

beeth no dawes. 11

¹ for too.

We have ofte founde People / mooste disobedient,
mooste requisyte and expedient.
a mainteynour of wrong opinions
in all Countries and dominions? 1116

Insolence
saith People
hath been
disobedient,
and should
be rebuked.

therefore to rebuke hym att all houres
raginge anie ministers of yours.
Ye muste tarrye tyme, ere¹ we can your pourpose serve.
ye[a], & than, while the grasse shall growe, the horse
all sterue. 1120

Oppression
pleadeth for
time.

Doe ye not see this by all experience plaine,
from deseases recover againe,
sycknes paste / remaine a long tyme weake?
People, herke, Authoritee dooth good reason speake.
So ye thoughte Oppressed with Longe aduersitee, 1125
not, are towarde wealth & prosperitee.

Men after
sickness are
weak.

Loe, People, to hope a while longer shall bee best.
well then, cham perswaged to doo at your enquest.
Madame / mistruste not vs your painfull Ministers.
Never had Ladie more watchefull officers. /

Republica
and People
will wait.
Ministers
must be
trusted.

For my parte, I will sware the gossPELL booke vpon,
e Lawes I have made shoulde everye one 1132
to myne own singuler comodytee,
lde not be frendelier framed then thei be.

[leaf 37e]
If all the
laws aided
but Oppres-
sion, yet they
are good.

Therefore repose yourselfe, Madame, a while & winke.
better case towarde then youe can thinke. 1136

We shall heare remaine, and geve People good counsaile,
so be, tyll Policie maie prevaile.
ie will doe well with your goode informacions.

Republica
willeth to
depart in
trust.

Yea, vei, chil volowe their goode exaltacions. 1140
Than I leave youe all heare to God : I will departe.

And People
will obey,

[*exeat Resp.*]

Now howe? Destructions to membre in my harte?
Destructions ! ye miser !

and awaileth
instruction.
And they
abuse him for
complaining
and troubling
Republica.

ye peasaunt !

ye lowte !

[Canne ye naught]² els doe but rage & rave &
ye owt? 1144

And cannot tell on whome?

no more then can a dawe.

¹ youe *struck out* after etc.

² So Prof. Brandl.

Oppr. Crow against your betters !

Insol. & murmoure againste the Lawe!

Leate me heare thee prate, as thowe haste doone heeretofore.

Avar. Or trouble Ladie Republica anie more. 1148

Oppr. Thow canst not see, thow wretch / canst thow whan
thow art well?

Avar. Ist parte of thie plaie with suche highe Matiers to mell?

Insol. Doethe yt become the[e] to barke / with suche awide
throate?

Avar. And to have an ore in everye bodies bote? 1152

Insol. If thowe dooe so againe, yt shall with the[e] bee wurse.

Oppr. we shall wring & pinche the[e] / bothe by bealie &
purse. 1154

Insol. I wolde aduise youe, frende, to grunte & grone no more.

Oppr. Doe the like againe, & thoue shalte rue yt ful sore.

Avar. It were best for you, freend, all mourmouringe to cease.

People will
go home,

people. bum vei than, chil een goo home, / and vaire holde mi
peace.

Insol. Dooe soo by my reade / & fall to honest laboure.

Avar. hens home & bee quiete, & thowe shalte fynde favour.

people. Then chil byd youe vare well. 1161

Oppr. no woordes, but hens a pace.

this was doone as shoulde bee.

Avar. this was doone in right place.

people. but howe, one worde erche goe / yele geve volke leave
to thinke?

Oppr. No, marie, will we not, nor to looke but winke. 1164

people. yes, by gisse, but chil loe, naie, loe thare, pought is free,
& a catt, pey zaith, maie looke on a king, pardee. [exeat.]

Inso. Nowe where doo wee beecome? I home. [exeat.]

Oppr. And I abroad. [exeat.]

Avar. And I must see what feete abought my doore have
trodde. [exeat.]

Act V, sc. i.

Actus quinti, / scena prima.

/ MISERICORDIA. /

Mercy en-
tereth prais-
ing God, how
he is merciful,
and spareth
men in their
folly,

Miseric. Wherein apeareth the graciousnesse of God,

more then ynfinitye to excede mans goodnesse,

but that he kepeth backe the sharpe stroke of hys rod

whan man woulde rage in mooste furious woodenesse? 1172

Scarce anie emendes maie mannes eagrenesse appeace,
 yea, & thoughe he forgeve, he wilnot soone forgette :
 towardes true penitens Gods wrathe forthwith doothe cease,
 & he their past sinnes behind his backe dooeth sett. 1176

and forgiveth
 sin.

Of long sufferance he is with weaknesse to beare,
 while anie hope of emendment doothe remaine,
 & thoughe he plague synners to call them home by feare,
 yet his mercye and grace are ai readie againe. 1180

God is of long
 sufferance.

His grievous displeasure dureth not for ever,
 And why? quia miserationes eius,
 whiche to shewe he chieflie delighteth ever,
 Manent super omnia Opera eius / 1184

It grieveth hym sore whan he muste neades take veangeaunce ;
 his delite and glorie ys mercie to practyse ;
 his tender compassion on trewe repentaunce,
 he hath still from the beginni[n]ge sowte texercise. 1188

The masse of this worlde in his mercie did he frame,
 the skie, yearthe and sea his mercye replenished :
 In his mercye, dyd he after redeame the same, ,
 whan els remedillesse yt must have peryshed. 1192

Creation is
 but proof of
 His good-
 ness.

In his Mercie was Israell delivered /
 from the Gyptian thraldome and captivitee.
 In his mercye the same throughe the red sea was led,
 And through wildernesses to a land of Libertee. 1196

Israel was
 delivered by
 His kindli-
 ness.

Syth that tyme, all comonweales he hath protected,
 and to suche as withe earnest prayer have made mone,
 me, Compassion, he hath amickelye directed
 to revive & recover theym everie one. 1200

Mercy He
 hath ap-
 pointed to
 succour com-
 monwealths.

Now lastely, hath he harde the mooste doulfull lament
 of wofull Republica his derling mooste dere.
 Therefore me, Compassion, with spede he hathe sent,
 hir mooste sorowfull herte to recoumforte & chere. 1204

And Mercy
 will aid
 Republica.

I tarrye hir commynge that I maie hir salute,
 & Loe, me thinketh, I see hir appere in place,
 of frendshipp devoyde / & of succoure destitute.
 I will heare hir and than geve wordes of solace. 1208

[leaf 377]

Act V, sc. ii.

Actus quinti, scena secunda.

RESPUBLICA / MISERICORDIA / AVARYCE / ADULACON /

Respublica
beseecheth
God for help,
though she
be unworthy.

Respub. O Lorde, haste thowe for ever closed vp thine eare
wilt thowe never more the desolates praier heare?
wilt thou styll torne awaie thy face from my distresse?
wilt thou cleane forsake me and leave me coumfortlesse? 12 1 2
the secret sighes & sobbes & praiers of myne harte,
shall thei not forever thyne yeis to me *converte*?
I graunte that myne offences have so muche deserved,
But for whome, save sinners, ys thye mercie reserved? 12 1 6
[thow reservst it] so, which hithertoo haste been iuste;
Despaire, Lorde, I wilnot / nor thie goodnesse mistruste.
Lo downe on my destresse and for thye glorie sake,
Thoughe I bee ill worthie / it, mercye on me take. 122 0

Mercy ap-
proacheth
her.

Miseric. / Now will I speake to hir.*Resp.*

who maketh me afearde ?

Miser. No, I will thee comforte / : god hath thi praier harde.

And now, Respublica, bee of good hope and truste.

Respub. O Lorde, nowe doe I see that thowe arte ever iusta.*Miseric.* I am sent to recoumforte thee, Respublica. 122 5*Respub.* O Ladie Compassion, Misericordia.

Respublica
is dumb-
stricken,

Miser. What saie ye to me? what, wooman, can ye not speake?
I am com downe, all youre sorowes at ons to breake. 122 3
Speake, wooman. /

Respub. Misericor.*Mia.*

owte comfortablie.

ye shall have nowe no more cause to speake desperablie.

Respub. My harte in Godds mercie is so delated¹

and bursteth
into grateful-
ness.

That my veraie spirite to heaven is elated. 123 2
O. Ladie Compassion, welcome verament!
Ever bee God praysed / that youe to me hathe sent.

Miseric. Now that I have put youe in sure hope of reliefe,

Mercy must
fetch Truth.

I must goe fett Veritee to trye owte all your griefe. 123 5
Veritee shall open how your decaie hath growne,
& then the causers thereof shalbe overthrowne.

Respub. Who bee the causers thereof I cannot descerne,
but yond cometh one of them, that doe me governe. 124 0

Respublica
knoweth not
who afflicteth
her.

Miseric. What is his Name?¹ i. e. dilated.

- Resp.* Policie.
Miser. policie is goode :
 I dooeth worke youe manie good thinges, of likelihood. / [leaf 377, bk.]
Avar. A vengeance vpon hym & God geve hym his curse ; musing on
 I am besieged Nowe of everye cutpurse ; 1244 the pick-
 I can goe no where now, in citie neither Towne, pockets.
 But piers piekpurse plaieyth att organes vnder my gowne /.
Miseric. what talketh he ?
Avar. who speaketh yond, Respublica ?
Respub. What of the piekpurse ?
Avar. Forsouth, Dame Respublica, 1248
 I saide an we had twoo pielouries mo, twer noe the wurse, He would
 For yt is a light thing nowe to mete Piers Piekpurse. faine have
 God preserve youe, right faire Ladie, & Christe youe save. more pill-
 Who are youe ? & what woulde ye in this countrie have ? 1252 ories, but
Respub. This same is the Ladie Misericordia asketh Mercy
 sent from god purposely. who she be,
Avar. vnto youe, Respublica ?
Misericor. yea.
Avar. Than muste ye nedes bee mooste hartelie welcome : and welcomes
 we had ner more nede of youe by my holydome. 1256 her.
 There bee in this countrie which but ye coumforte [send],
 are full like to make bothe a madde & a shorte end.
*Niseric.*¹ I will goe to doo that I said, Respublica, 1259 Misericordia
 and retourne with spede. leaveth the
Respub. Swete Misericordia. [exeat Miā. scene, and
Avar. Good Misericordia now / and Ladie mooste deare,— Avarice
 Christe blister on your harte ; what Make youe heare ?— followeth her,
Respub. Come backe, Policie. misdoubtful.
Avar. I come.
Resp. whither woulde ye nowe ?
Avar. Conveigh miselfe hens honestlye, if I wiste howe. 1264
Respub. whan come ye, Policie ? what looke ye ? something
 loste ?
Avar. Anon. If I tarie, yt will tourne to my coste.
Resp. Ah, frende Policie.
Avar. yea.
Resp. Now shall I bee in blisse. 1267
Avar. thanks to God—we must finde provision for this.—

¹ for Miseric.

Respub. hah?

and Avarice
taketh the
praise on his
policy.
Adulation
entereth,

Avar. dydnot I er tell youe *that* God woulde you save?
ye maie see nowe what it is, goode rewlers to have.

Respublica. ye saie trewth, but, looke, yonder cometh *Honestie.*

Avar. / Praie god, Amen.

1271

Resp. yes, looke els.

Avar. what newes bringeth he

who would
speak with
Avarice.

Adul. I shoulde speake a woorde in theare of Policie;

If I maie not so, I will speake ytt openlie.

Respublica
hath not seen
him for long.

Resp. I have not seen youe a greate while, *Honestie.* 1275

Adulac. O Noble Ladie *Respublica*, well youe bee. /

Respub. All shalbee now, such newes I have to me brought.

[leaf 378]

Adulac. I heare yt toulde for trouth. Policye, all wilbee nought /

Resp. hearest thowe anie Ioyfull newes abroad, or not?

He telleth
her Truth
hath come.

Adul. yea, I have certaine Newes / which are bothe brym &

hotte, 1280

there is newe stertt vp a ladye cald Veritee /

Respub. Than am I all safe, and sure of prosperitee.

how was yt spoken?

Adul. this is Laten, grosse and blunte,

Misericordia et veritas sibi obuiauuerunt, 1284

That is, Mercye and truthe are bothe mett together /

Avarice is
vexed there-
at,

Respub. Than will yt not bee long / ere thei bothe come hither.

Avar. hither? how so?

Resp. yea, bothe Mercie & Veritee.

Avar. A pestle on them bothe, saving my Charitee. 1288

but softe, brother *Honestie*, / ye might mistake ytt;

Of whiche Veritee wast, trowe youe, *that* thaye spake ytt?

and asketh
whether it be
the veritable
Truth,
Time's
daughter.

Adul. Of the generall Veritee, Olde tymes daughter. /

Avar. Feith, they were not *our* frendes *that* firste hither

brought hir. 1292

Avarice
describeth
Time.

olde tymes doughter? that shuttle brained tall, long man,

That nere standeth still / but flyghth as fast as he canne,

muche like as he swymmed or glided vppon yce?

Adul. yea.

Resp. for all that, of wise men, he is thought mooste wise.

Avar. I knowe hym; he carrieth a clocke on his heade, 1297

A sandglasse in his hande, a diall in his foreheade.

Respub. ye saie truthe, Policie, the same is veraye ha.

Avar. Old tyme the evisdropper: I knowe hym, pardee. 1300

An Auncient turner of houses vpside downe,
 & a comon consumer of Cytie and towne.
 Old tymes doughter (*quod* he)? I shrewe his naked harte;
 Manie of my frendes hathe he brought to paine & smarte. 1304
 Compassion and that Trueth come hither to yowe?

Respub. Mercie, before ye came, promised so right nowe.

Avar. It is no tyme nowe, Honestie, to be idle.

Adul. Sommething brueth?

Avar. It is tyme for vs to bridle. 1308

well, goe *your* waies afore in all haste, Honestee,
 And tell Reformation and Authoritee /
 That bothe theis Ladies in all goodlye facion
 muste bee enterteined here in this Nacion. 1312
 Madame Republica, ist not *your* pleasure soo?

Respub. what els? in all the haste, Honestee, see ye gooe.

Avar. Saie ferther that I wolde / we fowre anon might mete
 her, or where thei will, save in the open streete. 1316
 And here youe, Honestie?

Adul. what nowe?

Avar. a litell nere;
 provyde in anie wyse that Veritee come not heare.
 Let Insolence & Oppression kepe hir hens. 1319

Adul. we shall all three therein / doe oure best Diligence.

Avar. Byd them well remembre the worlde will waxe quaisie;
 Some of vs erelong maie happe leape at a daisie.
 Or put owte the ,i, of Misericordia, /
 And withowte an ,i, plaie een plaine trussing corda. 1324

[*exeat* *Adul.*

Resp. Polycye, what is it that ye talke there so Long?

Avar. I send instructions that thei maie not doe wrong.

Respub. Saide ye aught to hym, *that* maie not be tolde to me?

Avar. Shoulde we with ery trifling trifle trouble ye? 1328
 well then, ye looke for theis twoo Ladies, [I am sure].

Respub. I truste thei wilnot faile on me to doe theire cure.

Avar. I tolde youe ever, dyd I not? that *your* welthe woulde
 frame? 1331

Respub. I shall rewarde *your* paines: orels I were to blame:

Avar. Than beste I goe now streght to my felowes & see,—

Respub. That thinges nedefull for vs maie not vnreadie bee.
 Doo soo, I prairie youe.

Respublica
assureth him
Truth and
Mercy are
come.

Avarice
biddeth his
compeers
give them
welcome;

[leaf 387, bk.]
 he would
 meet with
 them pri-
 vately,

and speaketh
 long and
 secretly with
Adulation:
Truth must
 be staved off.

Mercy's eye
 must be put
 out.

Respublica
is suspicious.

Avarice will
 himself haste
 to fetch them.

Avar. Fare ye well, Respublica,
till I see you nexte.

[*exeat* ~~ut~~.
133 ~~36~~

Respublica
awaileth
her friends
who enter.

Resp. Nowe, Misericordia,
whan shall bee thy pleasure, bring hither Veritee.

[*Intrant Miā et veritas* ~~us~~.]

behoulde een with the worde speaking, where thei bothe bee.

Act V, sc. iii.

Actus quinti, scena tertia.

MISERICORDIA, VERITAS, RESPUBLICA. /

Respublica
must think
the time
long.
She hath
endured
much, but
the memory
of sorrow
maketh joy
sweeter.

Miseric. I dare saie Respublica thinketh the tyme Long.

veritee / who can blame hir, having endured so muche wrong ~~1~~?

but as meate & drinke & other bodylye foode 134 ~~1~~

is never founde to bee, so pleasaunte nor so goode

As whan fretting hongre / & thrifte hath pinchd afore ;

& as health after sickenes is sweeter evermore, 134 4

so after decaye & aduersytee overcome¹

welth & prosperitee shalbe double welcome.

Miser. How nowe, Respublica? have I not been Long hens?

Respublica
is glad.

Respub. Come ye firste or Laste, ye blisse me with you ~~1~~
presence. 134 ~~8~~

[leaf 379]

Mercy
bringeth
Truth.

Miser. As I was commaunded, I bring youe Veritee,

to helpe youe, youre people, and their posteritee.

veritee. Dere iewell Respublica, I dooe youe embrace.

Resp. I thanke your goodnesse & submitte me to your grace.

Miser. Embrace Veritee for Ever, Respublica, 135 ~~3~~
And cleve fast to hir.

Resp. yes, Misericordia.

Truth shall
declare the
case.

Miser. Now please yt yow to declare, sister Veritee, /

how she maie recover hir olde prosperitee, 135 ~~6~~

hir honour, hir wealth, hir riches, hyr substaunce,

hir comons, hyr people, hir strength & hyr puissaunce.

veritee. All this wilbee recovered in continent

and to better state also by good gouvernement. 136 ~~0~~

Respublica
hath had
good
ministers.

Respub. No ladie of my name vpon yearth, I esteme,

hath had better administers then myne have been,

Policie, Reformacion & Authorite.

Miser. Thes three bee veray good.

Resp. and thee fowre[th] Honestee.

¹ MS. evercome.

- veritas.* But what if these *which* have had youe & yours
to kepe, 1365 Have they
been false?
- Have** been ravenyng woulves in the clothing of sheepe?
- Respub.* If I hard not youe, Verytee, suche sentence geve,
by no mans perswasion, I could ytt beeleve. 1368 Respublica
must believe
Truth.
- veritee.* Ah, good Respublica, thow haste been abused,
whom thowe chosest are vices to be refused. And Truth
declareth
them who
they are.
- whom thow calst Honestee ys Adulacion ;
And he that in pretence was Reformacyon, 1372
is in dede Oppression and houghe violence.
- Whom thowe calst Authoritee, is prowde Insolence.
Than he *that* was Policie, the chiefe manne of price,
Indede is moost stinking & filthie Avarice. 1376
- he firste enveigled thee, and his purpose to frame
Cloked eche of these vices with a vertuous Name.
- Resp.* Benedicite, is this a possible case? /
veritee. ye shall see yt proved trewe before *your* owne face.
thei shalbe convinced beefore youe one by one. 1381
- Resp.* O Lorde, what mervail, if my thrifte wer well nighe
gon? What redress
shall Res-
publica
have?
- but what redresse shall I have hereof? and whan?
- Miseric.* Suche as maie bee mooste fitte & as soone as we can.
Iustice & peace are appointed to descende, 1385 Justice and
Peace shall
descend
- thone to kepe youe quiete / theother youe to defende.
As soone as wee fowre sisters togither shalbe mette
An¹ ordre fer *your* establishment shall bee sett, 1388 [leaf 379, bk.]
- by the eternall providence / yt is decreed² soo.
- Respub.* O mooste mercifull lorde, all prayse bee thee vnto.
- Miseric.* I will leave youe here with my syster Veritee.
And learne of their coming wyth all celerytee. 1392
- veritee.* ye nede not ; For I knowe thei bee nowe veray nere, and enter.
And beholde they begynne alreadie to appeare.

Actus quinti, scena quarta.

Act V, sc. iv.

PAX, IUSTITIA, VERITAS, MISERICORDIA, RESPUBLICA.

- peace.* Now ons againe in God leat vs twoo systers kisse
In token of oure ioynyng to make a perfyte blysse. 1396
- Iusticia.* And nowe Leate vs never be soondred any more

Peace and
Justice kiss,
and will aid
Respublica.¹ MS. And.² MS. decreed.

tyll we maie Respublica perfectelye restore.

veritee. Leat vs meete theym, Sister Misericordia /

Miseric. And vnto theire sight present Respublica. 1400

Iust. pax. All haile, mooste deare Systers, Mercye & verytee,
& all¹ hayle Respublica, with all sincerytee.

Respublica
thanketh
them.

Respub. O ye ladies celestiall, howe muche am I bounde
with thanks to fall flatte before youe on the grownde, 1404
That ye thus vouchesalve a forlorne creature
by youre heave[n]lye protection to recure.

Justice will
visit her,
and Peace
abide with
her.

Iustic. I, Iustice, from heaven am come youe to visytte.

pax. & I, Peace, for ever with youe to enhabite. 1408

Miseric. And all wee fowre Systers, to thutmooste of our poure,
shall restore, establishe, and defend youre honnour.

Justice will
restore her.

Iustic. we shall firste restore your mooste happie eastate
& suppresses all them that had made youe desolate. 1412

Truth will
revel all.

veritee. Verytee shall all trueth open as ytt ys.

Iustic. I, Iustice, shall redresse what er is founde amisse.

Mercy will
pardon the
weak.

Miseric. I, Mercye, where the Membre maie recured bee,
shall temper the rigoure / & slake extremittee. 1416

pax. I, peace, whan thuncurable is clene cut awaie
& thyll made goode, shall flourishe for ever and aie.

[leaf 380]

Respub. And I, which cannot otherwise your goodnes deserve,
shall your holsome directions dewlie observe : 1420
and what yf Insolence shall come, or Avarice?

Respublica
is to detest
Insolence and
Avarice.

veritee. Detest them, abhore them, & refuse their service.

I doubte not but thei wilbe styll haunting hither,
tyll we fowre shall them fowre take here altogither. 1424

They all de-
part together

Miseric. Nowe, Sisters, goe wee and Respublica with vs
to be Newe appareled otherwyse then thus.

Iustic. Come on, Respublica, with vs to wealth from woe;
godde hathe geven vs in charge that yt muste be soo. 1428

veritee. The blysfull renovacion ye shall reigne in
muste from hensfoorth nowe immediatlye begynne.

singing.

(*Cantent*, The mercye of God, *et exeat* etc.)

Act V, sc. v.

Actus quinti, scena quinta.

AVARICE, ADULACION.

Avarice com-
plaineth of
the many
beggars;

Avar. Suche gredie covetous folke as nowe of daies been,
I trowe before these present daies wer never seen. 1432

¹ all above the line over a caret mark.

An honest man can goe in no place of the strete
but he shall, I thinke, with an hundred beggers mete.

geve for Goddes sake, geve for Saincte Charitee,
geve for oure Ladies sake, geve for the Trenitee, 1436

Geve in the waye of *your* good spede, geve, geve, geve geve.' /

Finde we oure Money in the strete, doo theye beeleve?

If I had not a speciall grace to saie Naye,

I wer but vndooen amongst them in one daie. 1440

But who cometh yond? Honestee? he cometh¹ in haste?

Adul. I seke Policie.

Avar. here, boye.

Adul. All is in waste.

Avar. howe so?

Adul. we strive againste the streame all *that* we doo.

Avar. wherein?

Adul. that Veritee comme not this place vntoo. 1444
For wotte ye what?

Avar. I shall whan he have speake the woorde.

Adul. Iustice and Peace too, with full consent and accorde
are comme downe from heaven / & have² kyste together.

Avar. God geve grace that theye twayne also comme not
hither. 1448

Adulac. As *mercy*e and trueth sibi obviaverunt,
so Iusticia et pax osculatae sunt.

Avar. Is yt trewe? are theye comme?

Adul. and have kist together.

Avar. Than carrye yn a pace for feare of fowle weather. 1452
have they kyssed together?

Adul. yea.

Avar. what nedeth that?

men shoulde kysse woomen. And what pointe bee theye att?

Adul. All the foure sisters, I doo you tunderstaunde
have alreadie taken Republica in hand. 1456

Theye fowre progresse with hir in everye border,
& marre all that ever we have sette in order.

Avar. And what doeth Insolence / or what saith he to that?

Adul. he stampeth, he stareth & snuffeth sore theareat. 1460

Avar. I advise hym to storme & to shewe himselfe stowte:

¹ *MS.* has comest crossed through before cometh.

² *MS.* has haste crossed through before have.

he hath a
grace to say
Nay.

Adulation
cometh seek-
ing counsel.

They work
in vain.

Truth
draweth
nigh.

and Justice
and Peace
have kissed.

[leaf 380, bk.]
Avarice is
confounded.

All four
sisters have
joined with
Republica,
and progresse
through the
realm.

Insolence's
wrath avail-
eth nought.
He should
stand his
ground.

thei bee weemen and perchaunce maye bee faced owte.

And Peace is an honest Ladie and a quiete.

Adul. Veritee and Iustice are not for oure Dyete. 1464

Avar. Then Mercye ys a goode one ; I like hir well.

Mercy may
turn away.

Adul. yet oft turnth she hyr face awaie, and will not mell.

Avar. well, fall backe, fall edge, I am ons at a poincte

If Respublica comme, taduenture a Ioyncte. 1468

Adul. She is freshe and gaye / & flourissheth who but she ?

Avarice
praiseth him-
self for the
restoring
Respublica,

Avar. who brought yt to suche passe, will I tell hir, but wee ?
Orels Making these newe Ladies of hir werie,
we shoulde thrihumphe & reigne.

Adul. Oh, never so merye. 1472

and will thus
persuade
Respublica.

Avar. well, goe to our Compaignie, I will remaine here ;

I maie perhaps see dame Respublica appere,

I wilbe in hande with hir and make a goode face.

Adul. And what shall I doe ?

Adulation
shall warn
his comrades.

Avar. geve warning in the meane space 1476
that Insolence skrinke not, but plaie the stowte man.

Adul. That I knowe he will doo, for ons I knowe he can.

Avar. And that youe all three be prest to comme hether.
whan nede shall require, we laye our heades together. 1480
whye arte thoue heare yet ?

Adul. I am gon withall my might. [*exeat.*

Respublica
entereth,
and Avarice
stands aside.

Avar. And loe, where Respublica appereth in sight.
[*Intrat Resp.*

She is nowe att hyr Nymphes bearing vpp hir traine ;

I will stande a syde, & Lysten a worde or twaine. 1484

Act V, sc. vi.

Actus quinti, scena sexta.

RESPUBLICA, AVARICE.

[*leaf 381*]
Respublica
thanketh God
she is un-
deceived.

Respub. O Lorde, thy mercies shall I sing evermore
whiche dooeste soo tenderlie thie hande maide restore,
but what creature woulde suspicion have had
That my late administers had been men so bad ? 1488
or who woulde have thought theim counterfaictes to have been
That had harde their woordes, and their countenance seen ?

And blameth
Avarice,

& chieflye Avarice which dyd the matier breake ?

Avar. That worde towcheth me : now is tyme for me to
speake. 1492

Resp. I thought hym Policie, as iuste & true as stele.

Avar. I am gladde that by me ye doo suche goodnesse fele.

who claimeth
the merit,
for her better-
ment.

Respub. And that my¹ wealth dyd growe, as it hath growne
of late. 1495

Avar. I ever tolde ye / youe shoulde growe to this eastate.

Respub. Thowe tell me?

Avar. yea, I tolde youe soo in veraie dede :

Respublica
believeth him
not.
Avarice re-
joiceth she
is happy and
freshly robed.

& highlie I reioyce yt doeth so well succede.

And *Salva festa* dies vpon youe, Madame !

I am glad ye have gotte a newe robe, so I am. 1500

what sainte in the callender doe we serve to daye,
that ye bee so gorgeouslye decked and so gaye?

Resp. In reioycing that I shalbe cleane ryd of thee.

She will none
of him.

Avar. Naie, by this crosse, ye shall neuer be rydde, for me.

Respub. And of thy compares. 1505

Avar. well, leate them doo as thei laste !

I will ryde vppon Iyll, myne owne mare ; *that* is iuste.

other waies I shall doe yowe service of the beste.

Respub. Thowe wicked wretche, daresto thowe with me
to ieste? 1508

Avar. What? I now see, honores mutant mores,
but as semeth here, raro in meliores.

Respub. The[e] and all thy service I doe from me exile.

She extileth
him.
Avarice pro-
testeth
against the
driving
Policy from
the land.

Avar. Is, that the highe rewarde ye promist me ere while?

is not this a wise wooman and mynded to thrive, 1513

That woulde me, Policie, owte of the countrie drive?

Respub. Thee and thy counplices from me I shall owte caste.

Avar. Than I prairie youe paye vs, for our paines that are paste.

Respub. ye shalbe paide.

Avarice
would faine
be paid.

Avar. ons I have doone the best I canne /
Authoritye also, he hath plaied the man.

Reformacion hath doen his parte, I canne tell.

If ye mystruste Honestie, feith ye doo not well. / 1520

And as for Avarice he is conveyed quite :

I bed hym gette hym hens or I woulde hym endyte.

I, Policie, have made hym to plucke in his hornes :

I sware I woulde els laie hym on prickels & thornes, 1524

where he shoulde take no rest neither daie nor night ;

So he had as lief be hangd as come in sight.

Avarice hath
done his best.
Authority
has been
a man.
Reformation
hath done
his part.
[leaf 381, bk.]
Honesty
should be
trusted.
Avarice hath
driven
Avarice
forth.

¹ *MS.* has left crossed through after my.

Respublica,
like Job, hath
no comfort of
her friends.

Respub. I maie saie with Iob, howe vainelye doe ye cheare ~~me~~
whan all the wordes ye geve frome truth doeth disagree, 1 ~~52~~

And with the wise man, I maie moost iustlye saye this
Iust[ici]a tamen non luxit in nobis.

Orels with the prophet in mooste sorowfull moode,
the fructe of our Iustice is tourned into wormwoode. 1 ~~53~~

And nameth
him for what
he is, Avarice.

Well, the best of youe is a detestable vice,
And thow for thie parte arte mooste stinking Avarice.

Avarice saith
she abuseth
him,

Avar. Iesu, when were youe wonte so foule moothed to be-
to geve suche Niecknames? Ah, in feith, dame Veritee 1 536
hath had youe in schooling of Late; well, in Gods name
I am sorie for youe, een sorie that [I am].

I wisse I have wrowte to sette youe in goode state
& watched for that purpose / bothe earelie & late. 1 540

and biddeth
her bide his
time.

And I wis, if youe woulde abyde my framynge
& not thus to have fall to checking and blamyng,
I woulde ere long of youe made suche carpenter weorke,
That ye shoulde have said Policie had been a clerke; 1 544
Naie, youe shoulde have seen, how I woulde have youe
compacte.

Respub. Yea, no doubt, ye woulde have doone somme great
& fyne acte.

He would
have brought
Kent to
Northumber-
land, and
Somerset to
Cumberland.

Avar. I woulde have browght haulfe Kent¹ into Northumber-
lande

& Somerset shiere should have raught to Cumberlande; 1 548
Than woulde I have stretche the countie of Warwicke
vppon tainter hookes, & made ytt reache to Barwicke.
A pece of the Bisshoprique shoulde have comme southwarde.
Tut, tut I tell youe, I had wonderous feates towarde. 1 552

But *Respub-*
lica is well,

Respub. God hath placed me alreaddie in the best wise.

Avar. yea, but yet not haulfe so well as I coulde devise.³
but no force; well than, I see ye will none of mee.

Respub. No.

Avar. than ye can be content; I departe from yee.

Respub. yea. 1 557

Avar. well, yet an² ye praie me, I tarrye still.

and dis-
miseth him,

Respub. No.

Avar. well, speake me faire & woo me yet / & I will -

¹ above line.

² MS. and.

³ MS. devisee. These two lines are written in a finer hand.

Respub. No, hens ; avaunt.
Avar. have I had of youe suche a clogg,
 And nowe [youe] byd me avaunte & make me a dogg? 1560
Respub. Hens at ons /
Avar. Naie, tut, an ye will ha vs, ha vs.
Respub. owte of my presence.
Avar. well then, ye wilnot ha vs.
Respub. No, avoide, I charge the[e]. /
Avar. than nedes departe I muste.
 Adieu, in feith I woulde have servyd youe of truste / 1564
 But sens Republica hathe putt me to exile,
 where maye I goo kepe miselfe secrete for a while?
 is there neuer a goode chaplaine in all this towne,
 that will for a while hide me under his gowne, 1568
 Never a goode farmer, neuer agoode Merchaunte Manne?
 well, I will goo pieke owt some corner, yf I canne.
 but, first, will I monishe my fellowes of this geare; 1571
 An we staye this plounge, I care not for the next yeare. [*exeat.* and will
Respub. Nowe will I to Iustice & thother ladies three, Republica
 And praie that these vices maie all suppressed bee. would unto
 Justice, but
 stayeth to
 meet People.
 [*Intrat* People.
 But loe, heare cometh people ; I will nowe tourne againe
 And firs^te knowe¹ of his goode state by a woorde or twaine. 1576

Actus quinti, scena septima.

Act V, sc. vii.

RESPUBLICA, PEOPLE.

Respub. what standith he prying ? dareth he not entre ?
people. Shoulde vaine zee my ladie : but I sdare not venter. People
 feareth to
 approach,
Respub. Shrinke not backe from me, but drawe to me, my
 deare frend. 1579
people. Chill virst knowe an ye bee alone, zo God me mende.
Respub. Come, here bee non but thie frends, me beleve.
people. well than, chil bee zoo bolde to peake in by your leve.
Respub. how happeneth that thowe hast so long been me froo ? he has been
 long away,
 and telleth
 how he has
 been afflicted,
 and enjoined
 not to see
 her
people. Marie, chill tell yowe : as soone as ye were agoe 1584
 hither cam a zorte of courtnalls, harde men & zore,
 Thei shaked me vp, chwas ner zo rattled avore.
 Theye vell all vppon me, catche awoorde that might catche ;
 well was hym that at me, people, might geat a snatche. 1588

¹ The scribe has written knowe twice over, and crossed out the second.

Choulde have been at home rather then a newe grote ;
 Iche maie zedge to youe, Is fearde pulling owte my throte.
 They bade me pieke me home & come att yowe no more.
 An ich did, thei zware, Is shoulde bee corrompt therefore. 159
 zo thieke prowte howrecop, what call ye hym ?

by Insolence.

Resp.

Insolence.

People. yea, even thickesame, he vaire popt me to silence.*Respub.* And howe ys it with youe now ? better then it wasAll beginneth
to prosper
with him.*people.* All beginneth now to comme gailie well to passe.

wee heare of your goode vortune that goeth abowte, 159

howe ye beeth permounted which makithe vs proute.

And iche am hable sens to bie me anewe cote,

And, Is thanke God, chawe in my purse a zilver grote. 160

I wis iche cowlde not zo zai these zixe yeares afore :

People is to
hold the Vices
back,

who ever cawsed yt, ill thanke have they therefore. /

Respub. Thei wilbe heare soone / hyde youe them here for

[leaf 882, bk.]

traîne.

people. Masse but I nynnat ; woulde ye have om sqwatte owte

ons braine ? 1604

Respub. They shallnot doe the[e] harme the value of a pointe—*peopl.* then, an youe zaie the woorde, ichill ieoperde a iointe.*Respub.* If thei but offer thee wrong, they shall smarte there—

fore.

people. Naie, will ye bee zoo goode to tye om vp avore ? 1608

And what shalche zai to om ?

and to say
nothing.*Resp.* nothing, but bee a bayte,

tyll take them all here soodainelie I maie awayte. [exeat—

People
wondereth
that Res-
publica
setteth a
trap.*people.* well, ytt shalbe doo ; Choulde laugh and bothe my

handes clappe,

to zee Ricepuddingcakes envies take in a trappe. 1612

& azee, praie, if zome of om comnot yonder ;

choulde my ladie had byd ner zo lytle longer. /

Act V, sc. viii.

Actus quinti, scena Octava.

INSOLENCE, ADULACION, OPPRESSION, PEOPLE, AVARICE. /

Insolence
demandeth
Avarice,*Insol.* where is Avarice, howe ? he doeth not nowe appere.*Adul.* he bydde me monishe youe that we might all mete here.*Oppr.* But see where People staundeth. /and seeth
People,*Adul.* / what dothe he here now ?*Oppr.* Abought litle goodnes, I dare my woorde avowe. 1618

- Insolence.* Let vs speake vnto hym. People, wherefore and why,
 like a loytring losell standeste thowe heare idelye? 1620
Oppr. Thou comest to Respublica to make some Mone?
Adul. Orels some complainte.
pepl. youe all see cham here alone.
Insolence. ye must have silver Money, must ye, ientilman? 1624
 youe cannot be content with suche coigne as wee can? *Why demandeth People silver money?*
Oppr. we muste burne woode & cole; muste ye all, of pleasure
 aunce?
 burne turves or some of thy bedstrawe, with a vengeance!
Adul. ye muste eate freashe meate bowght from the shambles, and meat?
 muste ye?
 eate garlike and Onnyons & rootes or grasse, an luste ye! 1628
Insolence. In feith, I will whippe youe for this, ye peasaunte
 lowte.
Adul. And twygge youe; *They threaten him.*
Insolenc. ere an other yeare come abowte.
Adul. but see where Avarice cometh rennyng veraie faste.
 [Intrat. Avar.
Avar. I have trodde & scudde tyll my winde is almoste paste.
 yet my mates are not where. / *Avarice entereth running,*
Insol. et Adul. we bee heare come of late. 1633
Avar. Be there not, trowe we, honester men in Newgate? /
Insolence. No woordes of reproche, brother myne, I reade youe. / [leaf 383]
Avar. None but goddigod eve, & goddigod spede youe.
 Feare¹ ye well againe, an ye be faling owte nowe. 1637
Insol. Adul. we mynde yt not.
Avar. twere more neade to looke abowte youe.
Insol. Howe goethe all, tell vs? *and telleth the bad newe,*
Avar. My ladye is waxte froward;
 our names bee all knowen, so there is araie towarde / 1640
Insol. oppr. God spede vs well.
Avar. ons I am thruste owte of service / *that he is thrust out. They ask counsel.*
Adul. Alas, what maie I doe?
Insol. oppr. tell vs thie best advice.
Ava. Naie, I cannot have youe, whan I woulde none of
 youe all;
 therefore shifte for yourselves, eche one, for me, youe shall. 1644

¹ i. e. fare.

Adul. Naie, for the passhe of god, tell vs what beste to doo;
ye knowe I was ner slake to restore youe vntoo.

Avar. Theis ladies that are comme for comon weales reliefe,
prepare to weorke vs woo and doo vs all mischiefe. 1648

Insolence is
confident,

Insolence. Naie, by his precious *populorum*, I shwere,
Not the prowdest of them all can hurte me a heare.

and Oppres-
sion mighty.

Oppre. If theye offre of vs to make theire gawdes or toyes
theie shall,¹ I trowe, we are no babes nor boyes. 1652

Avarice
despaireth
of force.

Avar. To prevaile againste them with force, I doo despaire.

Insolence. Bee that as bee maie.

Adulation
will speak
fair: People
hath caused
this.

Adul. I will fall to speaking faire;
butte of all this trouble we maie thanke people, this wretche.

Oppr. Feith, vilaine, if wee² scape, thow shalte an halter
stretche. 1656

Adulacion. But what remedie therwhile?

Avar. feith all wilbe naught.

Adul. Tell vs what to doo.

Avarice be-
ginning to
advise, is
too late.

Avar. I will. thei come. we are caught.

Adul. whether shall I renne?

Avar. Nowe sing a song, honestie.

Adulation
cannot sing,
but Avarice
doth.

Adul. I am past singing Now.

Avar. yes, one song, honestie. 1660

haye, haie, haie, haie /

I wilbe Merie while I maie. /

Actus quinti, scena Nona.

VERITEE, IUSTICE, AVARICE, RESPUBLICA, ADULACON,
MISERICORDIA, / PEACE, PEOPLE, INSOL. & OPPRESSION.³

Veritee. Heare theye bee all fower. This is an happie chaunce. /

Avarice
japeth at
Truth.

Avar. Take eche Manne a ladie, sirs / & leate vs goo daunca.

Resp. / I leafte people heare for a traine to holde them talke.
Alas that I coulde tell / which waie beste hens to walke.⁴

[leaf 383, bk.]

Avar. What bee thes faire Ladies? & whether will theye,
trowe? 1667

Justice
arrests them.

Iustice. Wee arest youe, sirs, all fowre, as ye stande in a rowe,
not so hardie in your hartes, oure areste to gaine saie.

¹ Insert find after shall (as Prof. Brandl).

² In MS. ye is crossed through, and wee written above the line.

³ People and Insol. above line.

⁴ Should not this line be given to Avarice, as an 'aside'?

- Avar.* Naie, we are content, if ye Let vs gooe oure waie. 1670
- Iustice.* Noo, not a foote, we muste firste *your* reckeninge take.
- Avar.* I nere bought nor solde with yowe, reckeninge to Make,
Nor I knowe not who yowe be.
- Iust.* Iustice is my Name.
- Avar.* where is your dwelling?
- Iust.* In heaven, & thens I came.
- Avar.* Dwell ye in heaven / & so madde to come hither?
all our hucking here, is howe we maie geate thither. 1676
- Iustice.* I bring heaven with me and make it where I am.
- Avar.* Then, I prairie youe, lett me bee *your* prentise, Madame.
I wilbe at *your* becke.
- Iust.* ye shall ere ye depar[te]. 1679
- Avar.* I woulde Learne howe to make heaven withall my harte.
well, as for Ladie Misericordia / He greeteth Mercy.
- I remembre I saw yowe with Respublica /
- Adul.* youe, if youe soo please, maie doo muche goode in this
lande; Adulation flatters her.
- Mannie at this howre dooe nede *your* goode helping hande. 1684
- Avar.* And ye cam downe from heaven too, I iudge.
- Miseric.* yea, sure.
- Avar.* why, what folke are ye *that* cannot heaven endure?
And what Maie I call youe, Ladie? He turneth to Peace,
- paz.* my name is Peace.
- Avar.* ye have long dwelte with vs, wee have been long in
peace. 1688
- peace.* Cale ye it peace, sirrha, whan brother & brother
cannot be content to live one by an other : Peace asketh if there have been peace within.
- whan one for his howse, for his land, yea for his grote
is readie to strive & plucke owte an others throte? 1692
- I will in all suche thinges make perfecte vnion.
- Avar.* Than, goode night, the laweiers gaine by Saincte Tron-
nion.
- westminster hale might goo plaie, if that cam to passe.
- feithe we must serve youe with a Supersideas. 1696
- veritee.* well; leave vaine pratling, & nowe comme aunswere
to mee. Truth is impatient.
- Avar.* I muste heare first what ye saie, & who ye bee.
- veritee.* I am dame Veritee.
- Avar.* what, the daughter of Tyme? Avarice asketh her who she be,

veritee. yea.

Avar. I knowe my M^r. your father well afyne. 170) C

[leaf 384]
and greeteth
her strangely.

welcome, faire Ladie, swete ladie, litle Ladye,
plaine ladie, smoothe ladie, sometyme spittle ladye,
Ladie longtong, ladye tell-all, ladie make-bate,
& I beseche youe from whens are ye comme of Late?

1704) A

She is sprung
from earth,

veritee. I am sproong owte of the earth.

Avar. what, ye doo butt ieste

verytee. The booke saieth Veritas de terra orta est.

Avar. happie is he which hathe that garden platte, I trowe,
owte of which suche faire blossomes doe spring & growe. 1708) C
yet this one thing, I saye,

verit. what?

but is friend
to few.

Avar. ye are frende to fewe,
preste to open all thinges & mennes Manniers to shewe.

veritee. If ye bee true & iuste, that is your benefite.

Avar. True or vntrue, iuste or vniust, it is your spite; 171— 2

& gladde ye are to take other folkes in A tryppe,
[yes, ye do it no]we¹ & than, your owne selfe on the whippe.
well, ye might bee honeste of your tonge, if yowe would.

veritee. If your actes were honest, ye did but as ye shoulde

Avar. who chargeth me with the crime of anie vice? 171— 7

Truth telleth
him he is
Avarice.
He denieth it.

Veritee. Thowe calst thieself Policie and arte Avice.

Avar. Naie, I defie youre Mallis, I am Policie;
Aske of my felowes here, am not I Policie? 172— 0

veritee. Ladies, will ye all see hym openlie tried?

Iustice. if he bee an yll one, leate hym bee descryed.

Truth asketh
him what is
in his bosom.

veritee. what haste thou in thie bosome?

Avar. nothing I, truelie

veritee. Nothing trulie gotte, saie. shewe ytt foorth openlie

Avar. What shoulde I shew foorth?

verit. that bag in thie bosome hid. 172— 5

He would
fain not show
the bag,

Avar. It lieth well, I thanke youe, as, muche as thoughe I dy

veritee. Naie comme on, owte with ytt.

Avar. loe, here tis for your fans

verytee. Geve it me.

Avar. yea, Naie, I defie that polycye. 1728

ver. Open yt.

Avar. yea, that eche bodie might bee catching—

¹ These words are a restoration on almost no trace.

Somes teeth, I thinke, water een sens to be snatching.

ver. we muste nedes see what yt is.

Avar. tis abag of rie.

and calleth
it a bag o'
rye.

veritee. Rye, what Rye?

Avar. A bag of Rie.¹ 1732

ver. suche as men do eate?

Avar. A bag of Rye flowre a greate deal better then wheate.

veritee. Let vs see what Rye ytt is, poore it owte in haste.

Avar. yea, shall? I trowe not. In dede soo might wee make waste. 1736

veritee. There is no remedie, powre ytt owte in my Lappe.

[leaf 384, bk.]
She maketh
him pour it
out,

Avar. Naie, if there bee no choyse, I will vse myne owne cappe.

veritee. So, A bag of Rye quod thoue?

Avar. yea, so God me spede.

veritee. Thou saiest even trueth, tis a bagg of Rye in dede :

and de-
scribeth how
it was gotten.

vsiree, periuree, pitcheree, patcherie, 1741

pilferie, briberee, snatcherie, catcherie,

Flatterie, Robberie, clowterie, botcherie,

Troumperye, harlotrie, myserie, tretcherie. / 1744

Avar. There is t[w]oo, an please youe, a litle sorcerie /
witcherie, banderee, & suche other grosseree.

Avarice
mocketh her
truly.

veritee. And howe gotste thoue all this in thye possession?

Avar. Pardon me, and I will make my confession. 1748

Avarice con-
fesseth he
got it where
he could.

The worlde is harde / & the bag ys but veraie smale.

I gotte it where I colde, to goe on be[ggyng]e] withall—

A plaine true deling Manne that loveth not to steale,

and I durst not bee bolde to crave of comon weale. 1752

veritee. Now doe of thie gowne, & tourne the[e] inside owt-
warde.

Verity bids
him take off
his gown,

Avar. Leate me alone / and an Angell for a rewarde.

veritee. Come of at ons; whan? come of. No more gawdies
or iapes.

Avar. muste I nedes whipp over the chaine like Iacke a napes?
Respub. owte, in the vertue of God / what doo yee here see?

and forceth
him.
Respublica
seeth his
purses.
He pre-
tendeth they
are saved,
and for her.

Avar. All this had been loste, Respublica, but for me! 1758

Resp. O lorde, where hast thou dragged vp all these purses?

veritee. where he hathe had for them manie thowsaunde
curses. 1760

¹ v. Note.

Respub. where hast thoue gotten them: tell trueth & do not lye—

Avar. where no honest manne coulde have gotten theym but I =
In blinde corners where some woulde have houred them,
had not I take theym with the manier & bourdened theym. 1764—

Respub. And whither was yt thine entent to conveigh them
now?

Avar. I hidde them that I might bring them safelie to youe—
I durst not beare them openlie, to God I vowe,
I wis ye have harde me blame piekepurses or Nowe, 1768
& this is all yours.

Verit. It is hers in veraie dede.

Avar. with Sufferaunce I coulde gette mo to helpe hir nede.
veritee. Howe saie ye, Republica, nowe to Policie? 1771

Respub. I ner suspecte[d] hym nor hadde hym in zelosie.

veritee. in suche like counterfaictes shall all the rest appere.
sirs, doe of your vtmoste robes eche one even heare,
Now what these are yee see plaine demonstration.

Respub. Insolence, Oppression, Adulacion. 1776
O lordes, howe have I bee vsed these five yeres past.

people. Naie, Is ner thought better of om, iche, by Goddes
vast.

vay, Madame, my Ladie, suche Strussioners as these
have ofte made youe beeleve the Moone was a grene chese. 1780

veritee. Nowe ye see what thei are, the punishment of this
muste bee referred to the goddesse Nemesis.
she is the mooste highe goddesse of correccion,
Cleare of conscience & voide of affection. 1784

she hath powre from above & is newlie sent downe
to redresse all owtrages in cite & in Towne.

she hathe powre from Godde all practise to repeale
which might bring Annoyaunce to ladie comonweale. 1788

To hir office belongeth the prowde toverthrowe, /
& suche to restore as iniurie hath brought lowe;
tys hir powre to forbidde & punishe in all eastates.
all presumptuous immoderate attemptates. / 1792

hir cognisaunce therefore is a whele & wings to flye,
in token hir rewle extendeth ferre & nie.

A rudder eke she beareth in hyr other hande,
as directri[c]e of all thinges in everye Lande. 1796

than pranketh she hir elbowee owte vnder hir side,

[leaf 385]
Republica
had not
suspected
him.

Republica
seeth her
rulers, who
they have
been for five
years.
People
always knew

Nemesis
must punish
them.

She righteth
wrong.

She carrieth
a whele and
wing in one
hand, and a
rudder in the
other,

and restrain-
eth the proud.

to keape backe the headie & to temper theire pride.
 To hir, therefore, dere sisters, we muste nowe resorte,
 that she maie geve sentence vppon this Naughtie sorte. 1800
 She knowith what is fytttest for theire correction :
 Nemesis muste therefore herin geve direction.

Iustic. Than, people, while we ladie Nemesis doo fett,
 all these offendours in thie custodie we sett, 1804
 theim to apprehende & kepe tyll wee come againe.

Justice giveth
 all four to the
 people to
 guard.

People. An ye geve me toritee, chill kepe om, that is plaine.

Ins. Oppr. Shall people kepe vs, of whom we have been
 lordes?

People. Stande still, or by Lisse [chil] bynde youe vaste with
 chordes.

Naie, sirs, iche ha youe nowe in my¹ custoditee.

Avar. Masse, I wilbe gone for myne owne Comoditie. 1810

people. zoft, whether wylte thou? wilt thoue not bee royld?
 stande styll, skitbraind theaff, or thy bonds shall be coiled. [leaf 385, bk.]
 yond bee thei comyng Nowe, che warte, that will tame ye. They strug-
 gle, and all
 but escape.

A zee, art thoue gon too? comme backe & evill a pee. 1814

Actus quinta, scena de[cima].

Act V, sc. x.

NEMESIS, RESPUB., MISERICORDIA, VERITAS, IUSTIC., PAX, PEPLE,
 INSOL., OPPR., ADULAC., AVAR.

Nemesis. Come foorth, Respublica, our darling mooste dere.

Respub. At youre woorde, mooste gracious Ladie, I am here.

Nemesis. Are these your trustie men that had youe in
 govermente? 1817

people. The skitb[r]aines nold not bee roilled ner sens ye
 wente.

Nemesis. People, whie aret thou bashefull & standest so farre?
 bee of goode chere nowe, & I warraunte thee come ner. 1820

Nemesis
 calleth forth
 Respublica,

people. I will comme no nere; cha not bee haled vp with
 states,

and biddeth
 People ap-
 proch.

but I scantot bee fichaunte enough eamongst my [Mates].

Nemesis. Come nere whan I bydde thee.

peop.

Marye but I ninnat;

I namnot worthye to perke with yowe, no I nam not. 1824

He is loth
 and shy,

¹ mine crossed through before my.

and Nemesis
turneth to
the late
governors.

Nemesis. well, Respublica, are these youre late governours,
whom ye tooke for faithfull / & trustie counsailours?

Respub. yea, forsouth, Madame.

Avarice pro-
testeth he is
dismissed.

Avar. These three bee, but I am none, e,
for I was discharged nigh haulfe an howre agoone. 1828

She begin-
neth with
Adulation.

Nemesis. Come firste stande foorth here, thow Adulacion.

Adul. Speake a goode woorde for me, Ladie Compassion.

people. Naie, she shall not nede, I chill speake for the [e]
miselfe :

Madame, take goode hede, for this is a naughtie elfe. 1832

He accuseth
Avarice.

Adul. Naie, Madame, the cause of all this was Avarice ;
he forged vs newe Names / and dyd vs all entice.

Oppression
and Insolence
confirm him.

Oppr. wee neither dyd nor coulde weorke, but by his aduise .

Adul. Because I got no more, he chidde me ones or twice. 1836

Insol. Madame, onlye Avarice made vs all to fall.

Avarice saith
they were
more cun-
ning than he.

Avar. yea? Falle to preching¹? Naie then, will I tell all.

Madame, ere I had taught these merchauntes enie while,
Thei were conynger then I, all men to beeguille. 1840

And Veritee sawe myne were small purses & baggs,
tottering looce about me like windshaken rags.

Insolence
hath taken
much land
and woods
[leaf 386]
and towns.

but he that shoulde have bagged that Insolence dyd winne,
Muste have made a poke to putt five or six shiers in : 1844

he muste have made voyde sakes for Castells, townes & woodes ;
the canvesse to make them of, were woorth ten tymes my goodes.

Oppression
hath dis-
possessed
many
Churchmen
and others.

Than Oppression here, to feather well his neaste,
Cared not of theire Livelood whom he dispossesse. 1848

Bisshops, deanes, provestes, ye² poore folke from the spittle,
Landes with church & chapple, all was for him to³ litle.

poore I did not soo ; I scrapped but lytle crumm(i)es,
and here and there with odde endes, patchid vp my summes.

Adulation
got his share.

Flatterye gotte his thrifte, by counterfaicte honestie, 1853
yet by these tenne bones, I bydde hym vse Modestie.

Therefore, spare not hym ; he will ner come to goode passe ;

But I maie welbe mended, by the Marie Masse. 1856

Mercy plead-
eth for them,

Mia. Ladie Nemesis, now have ye Occasion /

And Matier to shewe youre commiseracion.

[It is muche] more glorie & standith with more skyll,

Loste shepe to recover, then the scabye to spill. 1860

Iustice. But howe shall this redresse bee well persecuted,

¹ Should not this be peaching?

² read þe.

³ read too.

Iustice with Mercye shalbee executad ?

treight Iustice muste suche greate enormiteis redresse ;

everitee muste putt men in feare to transgrease ;

1864

how shall
Justice be
without
severity ?

Iustice muste geve eche Manne that he dothe deserve.

Miä. If offendours were not, wherefore might mercye serve ?

Avarice. Stike harde to it, goode shwete Ladie Compassion ;

we are all els vndoone / by cockes bytter passion.

1868

Avarice
appealeth to
Mercy.

Miä. Veritee, how saie youe ? have I not spoken well ?

veritee. Mercie in one place with Iustice sometyme maie dwell,

& right well agree together. howe saie youe, Peace ?

Mercy and
Justice may
be together,

pax. where althing is well emended, I doo encrease. /

1872

and then
there is peace.
Nemesis will
award a just
punishment
to each.

Nemesis. Ladies, we have harde all your descrete aduises /

& eche one shall have some parte of youre devises /

Neither all nor none shall taste of severitee /

But as theye are nowe knowen throughe Ladie Veritee /

1876

so shall theye receyve oure Mercie or our Ire,

As the wealthe of Republica shall best require.

Now, Adulacion, what saith youe in this case ?

Adulac. Nought in myne excuse, but submitte me to your
grace.

1880

Adulation
will repent of
his evil ways,

onelie this ; I promise, if I maie Mercye fynde,

vttterlie for ever to chaunge my wicked mynde :

I nere sought afore myne owne private gayne so muche,

But I will fether Commonweales tenne tymes so muche.

1884

and serve the
Commonweal.
[leaf 386, bk.]

Nemesis. well, thowe maiest become a worthie subiecte, yt ys
plaine.

Adul. Els ye knowe at all tymes howe to reache me againe.

Nemesis. Thowe mightst swerve of frailtee, thow mightst doo
too¹ please ;

He may
swerve for
frailty, or
love of ease,
or fear, or
wish to
flatter, but is
forgiven.

Thow mightst doo for feare² / thow mightst doo to lyve in ease ;

well, vppon thie promyse, for ons wee pardon thee ;

1889

Goo, & see that from hensfoorth, thow be perfecte honestee.

Adulac. So long as shall please God to geve me life and heale,

I shall mooste duellie serve God & the Commonweale.

1892

Avur. Nowe to thee, Avarice ; have att thye petticote.

Nemesis. Now, the plague of Comonweales, as all men doo
note,

Avarice, the
plague of
Common-
wealths,

Come forth, Avarice ; to spare thee wilbe no boote.

thow muste bee plucked vpp / een bye the veraie roote,

1896

¹ for to.

² The scribe has written and struck out feare before for.

because thowe scrapedst vp / what ever thow mightst geate.

Avar. In dede, I thanke God, there is no man in my debte.

Nemesis. And because thow caughtst yt by wrong contribu—
cion,

Thowe shalte firste & formooste make restitution. 1900

Avar. Leat me than with pardon goe hens abowte yt lightlye—

is given unto
People

Nemesis. No, ye shall have helpe to see it doon vprightlie.

People, take this felowe.

Avar. Godde save me from this plounge.

to be pressed
and made to
restore,

Nemesis. That he maie bee pressed as men doo presse a spounge.
that he maie droppe ought, teverye man hys lotte, 1905
to the vtmooste ferthing that he hath falslie gotte.

peopl. An ye bydde mee, chill squease hym as drie as a kyxe.

by the Law.

Avar. Naye, the pashe of Godde, I shall then die of the flixe.

Nemesis. Naie, thowe shalte deliver hym to the hedd Officer
which hathe Authoritee, Iustice to Mynister. 1910

People
removes him.
Insolence
hath sinned,
like Lucifer,
of ambition.

people. Chil lyver hym to the Counstable & come againe.

Nemesis. Now Iustice for these twoo *that* doe here remaine.

because the faulte of Insolence is hainous & greate,

Lucifers owne faulte taspire to the highest seate,

Oppression
hath wronged
the innocents.

And because Oppression hath wronged men so sore,

That he spoiled innocentes of all thei had and more, 1916

They must
await trial.

People shall Deliver them vnto safe costodie,

where thei maie no farther anoye anie bodie ;

whan the tyme Maie serve / texamine & trie their cause,

Call them bothe before youe, & Iudge them by the Lawse. 1920

People
removes
them.

people. And shalche carrie awaie these same twoo men also ?

[leaf 387]

Nemesis. yea, goe deliver them to an officer, goe. /

Nemesis
telleth Res-
publica she
is restored to
the old state,
her spoilers
spoiled : she
must cleave
to Truth,
Justice and
Mercy.
Nemesis
must depart
elsewhere.
Respublica
must thank
God and her
Sovereign.

Now, dearling Respublica, ye are in tholde goode eastate,

& they taken awaie that spoiled youe of Late. 1924

Nowe cleve to these Ladies from heaven to youe directe :

they from all corruption will youe safe protecte.

well, I muste goe hens to an other count[r]eye Nowe,

That hathe of redresse the like case *that* was in youe : 1928

I leave youe for thys tyme, immortall thanks to geve

to Godde and your Sovereigne *which* doo youe thus relieve. /

Respub. Thanks be to thee, O lorde, *which* haste this worlde
wrought,

& hast me too¹ this state from vtter Ruine brought. 1932

¹ i. e. to.

<i>Pax.</i> Now leat vs all together, bothe with harte & voice /	Peace rejoices
In God and in Quene Marie mooste ioyfullie reioyce. /	in Queen
<i>veritee.</i> Praying that hir Reigne mooste graciouslye begonne,	Mary.
[Maie] Long yeares endure as hitherto yt hath doone. 1936	Truth prays
<i>Iustice.</i> Praie wee forre hir Counsaile to have long life &	she may long
healthe,	reign.
Theire soveraigne to serve.	Justice for
<i>pax.</i>	her counsel.
<i>omnes.</i>	
And to Mainteine Comonwealthe.	
Amen.	

Cantent / et exeant /

Finis /

NOTES.

I have to express my especial indebtedness to Mr. P. A. Daniel for giving me his expert knowledge and advice in the revision of these notes.

l. 6. Edward died on July 6, 1553, and this play was evidently intended for Christmas of the same year. v. Introduction, § 4.

l. 39. Cannot this reference to the common practice of the boy-chorister-actors, have some special reference to Edward VI's theological precocity?

l. 58. Should we not read 'to thend'?

l. 67. *compace*] In sense of 'to compass.'

l. 82. cf. l. 465. *grumle sede* = money. 'The redde herring was this old ticklebob or Magister factotum, that brought in the red ruddocks and the grummell seed as thicke as oatmeale and made Yarmouth for argent to put downe the city of Argentine.' (*Nashes Lenten Stuffle*, pp. 230, 231, Huth Library, Nash, vol. v.) [P. A. D.]

l. 84. *Detected* as often means accused.

l. 87. *i.e.* after Henry VIII's death, when Somerset usurped the Protectorate and enclosures and confiscations ensued.

92-106. In this general abuse, Avarice refers to the woebegone condition of England. Property is impolitically distributed; forfeits made for the occasion (*e.g.* the seizing of Somerset's lands); *blind escheats*, *i.e.* blindly brought about. *Fliettaunce*, according to Professor Skeat, is a ghost word for *fleetings*, *i.e.* skimmings.

l. 114. *brede* would be better sense.

l. 169. See Introduction, § 6.

l. 176. Like the new landowners.

l. 182. *Merchant* throughout the play is used depreciatorily.

l. 250. That *y^t* should, I think, be read, *tut*.

l. 262. This use of *at* is Northern.

l. 282. These divided livings between secular owners and curates are referred to again, *e.g.* l. 960.

l. 292. *take vpon me*] *i.e.* *imponieren*. Cf. *Time's Whistle*, E. E. T. S.

Like some great horse he paceth vp and downe,
And takes vpon him in each company.

l. 293-5. The sale of church-lands, encroachments of commons, and spoliation of plate and ornaments.

l. 300. *hoo*] stands for 'hold'; cf. *wo*. See N. E. Dict. 'Ho,' p. 311, col. 1 and 2.

l. 313. *Ball* is a dog's name: the phrase means 'Go it, boy!'

l. 340. Is *Rigg* a name inserted *metri gratia*? The four solemnly obey Avarice's order. But cf. *Ralph Roister Doister*, II, iii, 47:

ye shall see her glide and swim
Not lumperdees clumperdees like our spaniel Rig.

l. 343. Mr. Daniel has explained this phrase as a nickname for a dishonest fellow, with a by-play on *trussed* (i. e. hanged).

l. 360. Cf. Grene, *Menaphon*: 'Twere necessarie he tolde us how his heart came thus on his halfpence,' and Murray under Halfpenny, pp. 37, col. 3, 2 a, and Greene, Huth Library, ii 85, 208, iv 41, viii 74, xii 70, xv 79. And cf. Scotch *bawbee*.

l. 368. *harde*] This form is the older, without umlaut in the past tense.

l. 384. *i. e.* by the halter ye shall.

l. 407. There are only three rhymes, and the MS. has a ruled space for a lost line. Might we restore,

Deformacion, ye doulte, naie, Reformacion!

l. 409. *A pestell on hym*] *i. e.* euphemistic for *pestilence*.

l. 415. *have on the lips*] *i. e.* be hit on the lips.

l. 423. Evidently some rough by-play is intended. Adulation perhaps tries to pick Avarice's pocket, and being detected, acts up to his new part. Avarice thus forgets the new names and is knocked down by Oppression.

l. 439. *yearethlye*] l. 476 and *yet*. Northern forms.

l. 465. See l. 82.

l. 473. *pipes*] *i. e.* his thieves' pockets.

l. 475. *Coppie*] *i. e.* change my manner.

l. 476. *toyes*] *i. e.* implements, Zeug.

l. 481. cf. l. 1598. Avarice seems to insist on the death of Conscience and to fear what Respublica has not said.

l. 519. There is no rhyme to this line.

l. 545. cf. l. 264 and 1063. This use of *until* suggests a Northern dialect.

l. 550. *i. e.* made promptitude prosper.

l. 564. Respublica enters in a bedraggled garment.

l. 581. cp. l. 1814.

l. 591. The four Vices never consult together.

l. 597. *St. George the Borowe*] A common form of invocation to St. George for help or protection. Cf. *Jack Juggler*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii, 120 [P. A. D.], and *Ralph Roister Doister*, IV, vii, 94.

l. 611. Numerals take a singular in this play as a general rule.

l. 636. This *may* mark London as the author's home, but see Introduction, § 7.

l. 638. *i. e.* alias dicta. Cf. l. 1091. People's Latin is intentionally corrupt.

l. 645. *Malkin*] *i. e.* *slut*, an opprobrious feminine expression, applied to Adulation. So used in *Ralph Roister Doister*, see Introduction, § 4.

l. 678. *i. e.* the fewer folk the better.

l. 697. MS. 'cha for yet tone name.' *g* in this play nowhere else becomes *y*; hence it is probably the scribe's mistake for *forget* (present = past participle). However, in many official documents we find *yeven* or *yeoven*. See People's Dialect, II.

l. 714. *have be*] *i. e.* if these have been.

l. 722, see 733. Between Acts II and III we may suppose (see § 4) the lapse of one year. In 1547 Edward VI came to the throne; the next year the peasants rose, and Somerset tried to suppress the revolt and also take the popular side. In 1550 he was attainted. Thus 1547 + 2-40 = 1549-40 = accession of Henry VIII.

1. 733 refers to the six year failure of the Regency. See also 1. 998 and note.

1. 742. *The pip*] A disease of which fowls die.

1. 750. Avarice enters hugging his bags. At 1. 750 Avarice is seen *haling* his bags after him, and at the end of the *Act* he *drags* them out. Note that Oppression whose entrance is marked in next scene does not enter till following sc. *quinta*. [P. A. D.]

1. 768. An aungelot or angel was originally equivalent to 10s., and a third of a sovereign of fine gold (30s.). Under Elizabeth it was reduced to 6s. 8d. An *Edwurd*, a gold coin stamped with Edward VI's effigy.

1. 793. See Introduction, § 6.

1. 794. *e. g.* the see-lands of Winchester and Durham.

1. 801. Can this be a reference to the subsidy (7 Edw. VI, c. 12) of two-tenths and a fifteenth?

1. 806. *enfourmed*] (*i. e.* indicted); *confourmed* (Act of Uniformity 1552); *refourmed* (Reformation).

1. 810. *emprowed*] *i. e.* improved, so as to raise the rent.

1. 812. *i. e.* the modern building-lease.

1. 814. *att the Latter Lammas*] *i. e.* never.

1. 819. *applye*] *i. e.* bend. *E. g.* Gardiner and Bonner, who were imprisoned until Mary's accession.

1. 824. Adulation sees the danger; the four have not met for a year: they are too self-absorbed to take counsel.

1. 847. *niene stockes*] Probably means to be put in the stocks nine times following.

II. 854-885. These unjust gains were:

(1) Lands seized by encroachment on commons and sold or leased again.

(2) A bill against usury was brought in 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 20.

(3, 4) Incidents in the general corruption: secular advowsons were a new thing.

(5) Cf. 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 16: An Acte againste buying and sellinge of Offices.

(6) *Sectour* (*i. e.* executor) with a by-gibe on *sector* (*seco*). 'My mother' can only mean the Church, whose lands were secularized.

(7) *sectourships*. Thus are trusts, *e. g.* chantries and charities, often embezzled.

(8) This iconoclasm is not overcoloured.

(9, 10, 11, 12) *Counterfaite wares*] The legislation of Edward VI is full of Acts for the greater authenticity of wool, leather, and other manufactories, dishonesty having followed in the wake of depreciated coinage and economic unsettlement.

1 Edw. VI, c. 13, expressly forbids the export or import of *wines, goods, merchandises, wools, woolfells, hides and backs of leather*, by or into any creek or haven, 'the subsidye aforesaide not payed.'

2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 37, confirms and extends an Act of Henry VIII, and forbids the export of *bell-metal* 'in small creakes' except tin or lead.

2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 23, is 'An Acte concerning colouringe of Customes in other men's names to the decaye of the King.'

3 and 4 Edw. VI, c. 9, regarding *hides*; and 3 and 4 Edw. VI, c. 20, as to *butter and cheese* forbid middlemen dealings. Tallow probably shared the fate of leather, and grain was taxed under the tonnage and poundage of 1 Edw. VI, c. 13.

(13) This 'facing oute of dawes' (cf. Aesop) must refer to the legal contrivances for deception.

As to the Prior of Prickingham, see Introduction, § 6.

l. 918. This picture of Occasion seems to be a medley of Fortune and her wheel, and Time and his forelock.

l. 960. Sir John Lacke-Latten is a gibe at the illiterate clergy of the Reformation, who might even be laymen and depute their work.

l. 961. A numeral here takes a plural.

l. 998. If my idea is right and the action takes seven years (i.e. the reign of Edward VI), this line refers to the reforming and secularizing policy of Somerset, and especially to Cranmer's Prayer-book of 1552. From line 1002 it will be seen Avarice has been busy and not seen Respublica, and in line 1022 People boasts of his prosperity under Henry VIII (five or six years ago). Thus Act I and Act II are continuous; Act II—Act III one year; Act III—Act IV five years, and Act IV and Act V, the *dénouement* and restoration of the Catholics, continuous.

l. 1016. *vet*] Prof. Brandl restores *vent*, i.e. wind. To put this into People's mouth, seems out of place. Might not the text be right, and the meaning be 'thou fetchest' (takest) too far the compass about? *vet* would be Devonshire for 'fet,' and 'thee *vet*,' a common Southern confusion of grammar. The phrase is found in 2 Sam. xxiii, 2 Kings iii, 9, or Acts xxviii, 13.

l. 1027. Professor Skeat has kindly explained these lines for me. *sallet* is a helmet; also, punningly, a salad; *godsgood* means godsend, but also yeast. 'The clown makes fun by putting a yeast-tub on his head.'

l. 1036. Here again a numeral takes a plural noun.

l. 1036. *hair through hood*] i.e. *come to poverty*. Cf. *Creed of Pierce Plowman*, ll. 841-2:

'His hood was ful of holes
And his heare oute.'

and Bohn, *Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 53. [P. A. D.]

'His hair grows through his hood.
He is very poor; his hood is full of holes.'

l. 1072. One constant complaint of the time was the way in which Parliament, without consulting Convocation, ruled the Church.

l. 1078. This was the constant resource of the Protectorate ministries; the coin was constantly reduced; but in 1551 and on afterwards, was cried down to its real value; however, on the unfair condition of government paying in the old coin and receiving in the new: 'Every creditor of the Court,' says Froude, 'artisan or labourer, servant, tradesman, farmer or soldier, was forced to receive that money at a fictitious value, although the council knew that a further depreciation was immediately and necessarily imminent.' (June 1551.)

l. 1083. This last reduction of the teston or shilling to 6d. took place in Aug. 1557. The averments, in the next lines, are not unfounded, for in the depletion of the Treasury, the Protector (1549) had to pay his Flemish creditors 'Kerseys, lead and Bell-metal.' See (on Froude's authority) *Flanders MSS.* Edward VI, State Paper Office, Letters of Council to Mr. Damosell at Antwerp.

l. 1090. i.e. according to Prof. Brandl's restoration, 'diuites estis iusti faistis.'

l. 1093-9. e.g. in 1551 the woods of the see of London and the appropriation of the episcopal demesnes of Durham.

l. 1160. We must understand some mishandling of People at this point.

l. 1163. *e.g.* the Acts of Conformity of the Reformers.

l. 1167. Again the plotters leave the scene, each on their own business without any concerted plan. The *dénouement* in the next Act finds them 'unready.'

l. 1209. In Act V, scenes ii, viii, ix and x, the characters enter at intervals, and the author, having already ten scenes, seems to have felt he could not multiply their number still further by the careful subdivision we find in the previous Acts.

l. 1246. *Piers Pickepurse* is an instance of the use of a proper name generically; cf. a Tommy. 'organes,' *i.e.* fumbling with his fingers.

l. 1275. In l. 950 Adulation, egged on by emulation of Avarice and his reproaches, goes away to seek greater profits. He is absent all through Act IV. As this final scene may be supposed to take place some little time after Act IV, it, for the five years between Act III and Act IV, may have elapsed since Respublica has seen Honesty. See also note on l. 1167.

l. 1290. The two verities. Mary and Jane, the two claimants to the Crown, are intended.

There can hardly be a doubt that Henry VIII is intended in the phrase Old Time, first, as the Catholic faith was then established; secondly, perhaps, because Henry too scythed away many heads, like poppies 'plat in a garden' (see l. 1707).

l. 1322. *leap at a daisy*] *i.e.* be hanged. This explains the following lines. They may be blindfolded and play at trussing (stretching) a cord. Cf. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, V, ii; *Dodsley*, ed. Hazlitt, vol. iii, p. 251:

'I will go neer for this to make ye leap at a daisy.' [P. A. D.]

l. 1432. *ben*] they been. This bold archaism is inserted *metri gratia*.

l. 1455. Respublica, who had no share in the counsels of the four vices (see line 1328), is supposed to be making a royal progress with the Virtues, and herself finding out how matters stand.

l. 1468. *to adventure a joint*, is to risk hanging. Cf. l. 1606.

l. 1483. *att hyr Nymphes*] *i.e.* with her handmaidens who are dressing her.

l. 1506. Jill, like Malkin and Piers, a common proper name.

l. 1530. From the Book of Wisdom. It should be:

'Iustitiae lumen non luxit in nobis.' (*Sap.* 1. 15.)

This mistake is interesting: if, as is probable, the MS. is not the author's, it is the kind of miscopying which we might expect.

l. 1547-62. See Introduction, § 6.

l. 1601. Again we have a clear indication that People's misery, and the action of this play, dates back to the beginning of Edward's reign.

l. 1606. See l. 1468.

l. 1649. *Populorum*] I cannot find any explanation of this word: it sounds very like the school-boy slang (*Slang Dictionary*, pp. 122, 1874), *Cockalorum*, 'an amplification of cock or cockey.'

l. 1688. Strictly speaking, this was true. After Somerset's fall in 1549-50, there were no more foreign wars, although this cannot be set down to the credit of Northumberland.

l. 1696. *Supersedeas*] Supersedeas, a writ having the effect of staying a lawful proceeding that would have proceeded otherwise.

- l. 1733. There are two half-lines lost here. Might they not have been—

Avar. A bag of Rie, yea 'tis a bag of Rye.

Ver. A bag of rie thoue saiest suche

Notice a bag of rye would have had the same sound as a bag awry.

- l. 1754. There is evidently a play on the proper meaning of angel.

l. 1777. i. e. March 1547. In July 1553, but the Reformation was at its worst after 1549, when Northumberland came into power.

l. 1805. There is no stage-direction 'exeant veritas mīa,' etc., as might be expected. The scene closes in disorder owing to the struggles of the Vices.

l. 1821. *haled vp with states*] States = the highest personages of a realm. People has not been brought up in their society: hence his shyness. [P.A.D.]

l. 1854. *by these tenne bones*] This must evidently mean his fingers.

l. 1894. *Have att thye petticote*] The use of 'at' is again peculiar.

l. 1909. Can 'hedd Officer' mean executioner? If so, this would refer to Northumberland's execution.

l. 1927. Does this mean that Catholicism must be restored in other countries? Read 'countreye'; this would account for the spelling, at least.

PEOPLE'S DIALECT.

I

IN 'People' the author, however, seems to be typifying the Devonshire revolt which was so successfully maintained against Sir Peter Carew, and throughout which Somerset endeavoured vainly to take the popular side. Hence our author does his best to write Devonshire; his measure of success may be gauged by the following analyses and special glossary.

I. CORRUPTIONS.

These are mostly intentional and well-conceived. Thus we find:

(a) *Latin.*

Respublica	Ricepudding-cake.
Alias dicta	alise dicta.
Divites estis iusti fuistis.	Divum este iustlum weste.

(b) *Portmanteaus.*

Words compounded of two; in these cases, to my mind, there can be no doubt they are 'portmanteaus' on Lewis Carroll's principle.

Commediens	{ Convenient
	{ Commodious
Promydence	{ Providence
	{ Predominance or prominence.
Policate	{ Polished
	{ Delicate

(c) *Comic.*

To these we may add comic corruptions often significant:

Captyvytee	Capacity
bezeivers	deceivers
zembitee	cf. dissemble and zembletee, <i>Ralph Roister</i> <i>Doister</i> , I, iv, 74, etc.
exaltacions	exhortations
destructions	instructions
enquest	request, etc.

(d) *Abbreviations.*

Words are shortened:

warte	warraunte
Mace	Master
Masship }	
spose	suppose
membre	remembre, etc.

II. OLD WORDS SURVIVE.

pieke	this
widge	A.S. wicg, horse
cobbes	notables
vei	fey (foi)
peason	paysan, etc.

III. CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

(α.) *s* = *z*. Zai, zo, etc., etc.

(β.) *f* = *v*. Volke, vele, vorth, etc.

(γ.) *prefixed s*. Sdare, spraie, scomporte, svele, scan, etc.

(δ.) *þ* = *ð*. The author evidently intended that the hard 'th' was to be sounded *ð*, and occasionally represents this with the *þ*. Thus we find *þee*, *thee*; *þought*, *þey*, *þinke*, *þing*, *þicke*; but for the most part he forgets to indicate this change of sound.

IV. GRAMMAR.

(a) *Personal Pronouns and their use.*

Is, Ich.—Here we need only note *ich* (variously spelt) and *Is* for *I*: *a* for *he*. From the epenthetic 's' (perhaps from 'I is') possibly we can see the origin of the prothetic 's' in *sdare*, etc.

The form 'ich' is more frequent, and combined in various ways.

'I have' becomes *Cha* and *Che* (ha); 'I will' becomes *Chil*, and so *choulde*, *chwas*, *chad*, *cham*, and even *shalche* (shall I), *erche* (ere I), *anche* (an I).

As by-forms we have *chave* (for cha), and fuller forms *ichill*, *I chill* (740), *I cham*; confusions in *che* was (1082).

(b) *Confusion*.—In the Present, forms are regularly confused. Terminations in 't' and 'th' are used with *you*, *we*, *they*, and the simple verb with *a* (he), and *thou*, v. lines 639 (youe liest), l. 989 (you beeth), dooeth youe (1006), and lines 711, 989, 676, 682, 679, 727, 703, l. 1016 (thee vet, thou fettest, thee for thou),¹ 1017, 1112, etc., etc.

Thus *we beethe*, *þey zaith*, *a bee*, *they zwareth*.

(c) *Past Participle (a) in i*.—The past participle is sometimes compounded with the old *i*-, e.g. *i-trounist*, *i-polde*, (v. Glossary for others).

(β) *Present form*.—But oftener we find the present form, with or without *i*-, e.g. *forget* (697), *i-strike* (1081), *take* (1095), *doo* (1611), *take* (1612), *byd* (1614), etc.

(δ) *Negatives*.—Negatives are used as in modern English, except that from l. 1818 onwards, the author suddenly remembers he ought to double People's use of them. We then get the forms *nold* (ne woulde), *nam*, *ni-mat* (ne moght), and so too in all later scenes where People appears.

V. The author often forgets to use the dialect. We find :

afore, l. 1601	ferthest, l. 987
face, l. 702	fire, l. 1096
faine, l. 993	for, l. 642
false, l. 640	fowertie, l. 1036
fele, l. 994	fynde, l. 719
ferre, l. 1016	saie, l. 1050

¹ 'we' is the accusative, 676 and 682.

sallet, l. 1027	sometime, l. 702
same, l. 999, 1020, 1087, 1921	sommes, l. 1078, 1079
see, l. 1622	soone, l. 1584
served, l. 1094	therefore, l. 1602, etc., etc.

VI. There only remains to note that once we have 'foryet' for 'forget,' l. 679; and almost always 'om' ('m) for hem.

These few remarks are supplemented by the special Glossary that follows.

Since writing the above, by the kindness of Mr. J. S. Westlake, I am enabled to add another section, dealing with the dialect from a more philological point of view.

II

CONTRIBUTED BY J. S. WESTLAKE.

THE nature of the language used by 'People' is somewhat difficult to determine. The main basis seems to be the standard vocalism, occasionally provincialized. However, the author adds sentences and words in an unmistakable South-western dialect, and modifies ordinary expressions accordingly, especially when such alterations would be noticeable to a Londoner. In other cases, when the provincialism would be less evident, he uses the usual form. Thus an overwhelming number of initial consonants are modified; what remains of such words is unaltered.

In many cases, he employs clearly South-western terminations, where the form would strike the ear; in longer phrases London and Midland forms are predominant. Yet his dialect is very accurate; and it is possible that the writer was a West Countryman, who had grown out of his mother-speech and was trying to reproduce it for a London audience.

We note some of the peculiarities in their relation to Old English, in so far as they differ from standard English; this choice of comparison is made because to refer to the evolution of London-English would be irrelevant, and to Middle West English would be harassing.

(a) For O.E. *ā* vowels the form used is much as that of the Standard English, i.e. of M.E. *ȃ*.

Forms such as *whare* (637 and elsewhere), *thare* (672 etc.). *Tharevore* seems to be intended to have another pronunciation from that of the Standard (where, there) always written. Of course this may be a quasi-phonetic writing of 1553 for Standard *ðǣrhvēr*. But internal evidence perhaps tends to my mind to note it as a genuine dialectical form. It cannot come from Late West Saxon *hwār ðār*, for such would give *whore*, *thore*, unless we suppose it is an unstressed form of them. All *e* sounds (except *g*) fall together in the Western dialects.

O.E. *ǣ* is *a* as in Standard English.

O.E. *ā* as lengthened in M.E. to *ȃ* is found as in Standard English, e.g. *came*, *ladie*.

O.E. *ē* is found as *ē*, but the sound seems from internal evidence of words in rhyme to have been *ĕ* not *ī*. For the 'umlaut' *ē* we find occasional *ī*: *ich win* (1084) (I ween).

For O.E. *ĕ* no reference need be made, except where it is lengthened in M.E. to *ē*, e.g. *common weale* (638).

In forms such as *zwareth* (703), *bares* (1076), the correct sound would be *ā* (*barren*).

This is more frequent in the Dialect than in the Text, just as M.E. *ā* became *ē* or *æ* earlier in the West than in literary English.

O.E. long *ī* has only Standard developments.

O.E. *ī* is regular in *this*, *his*, *chill* (for *ic wil*). *u* is found as a sounding of M.E. *ī* for O.Fr. *ai* after *m* in *mustress*.

O.E. *ō* seems to have had the sound *ū*, e.g. *doe zouth*, before *lk* we find *ō* as in *volke*. *ō* may have been *ūd*; cf. *ūd*.

O.E. *ō* has only standard equivalents. The same may be said of O.E. *ū*, *ȳ*. We find *lust* for list, *lystan*, line 684. This may be an attempt at Western dialectical *ū*.

O.E. *æ* has as its regular development *ē* as in 'wer' (*wæron*), etc.

Where it represents theumlaut of Germanic *ai* as in *heale* 637 for *hælo* (health) evidence of other *ē* rhymes leads us to assume a real *ē* sound, i.e. a direct derivation from the Old West Saxon form.

An O.E. *nēd* is represented perhaps by *nead* rhyming with *read* (678). This points indubitably to an *ē* pronunciation, for *read* was pronounced as the equivalent of *rēd*. If this be correct the attempted dialect can be localized.

Under the forms for O.E. *ēo*, which are not Standard, we find *theaff* which (1812) confirms the theory above as to the derivation of 'nead' for *rēd*, and *pēof* might be expected as *nēd* and *thēf* in the same dialect. The modern dialect would have had *ē* from *æ* and *ē* from *ē*.

For *eo* we find Standard equivalents except in case of *weorke* 696, where the value must remain doubtful.

As to the consonants, there in general we find an attempt to produce a Western appearance—combined with as much archaism as possible.

Taking them in due order:

O.E. *ȝ* initial before gutturals, Standard, except in 'cha foryet tone name,' where a whole real Western sentence in its phonology and morphology is produced. Here initial *ȝ* before palatals is represented as *y*.

All other forms found are regularly Standard.

c is only found differing from Standard in *pieke* for M.E. *pīlkē*, where we find *k* for an expectable *ch*. This corresponds to Modern dialect. So also we find curious variants of *īc* (1). Here we might safely say final *c* is preserved as a sibilant or affricate, putting the influence of the Standard language aside.

Two regular forms with preserved palatal or sibilant are found. *iche*, written *iche* (=Ich?) *Itche*=(Ich?) *ch* or *Is*. E.g. *iche goe* 643, *chill*, *chwas*, *cha*, but *ispraise*, *isvele*, *isdare*.

These forms may be divided as follows. Before auxiliaries beginning with a vowel, initial *ī* is lost, e.g. *chill*, *chwas*, *cham*. Where labial *w* intervenes between palatal affricate *ch* and palatal vowel *ī* it is lost, e.g. *chill*. A similar law is observed in the oldest English, i.e. *smerede*.

iche itche is found before back-gutturals, *iche goe*.

Before *labials*, *dentals* or *labio-dentals* we find *s*—*ispraise*, *isvele*, *isdare*. These laws, real or imaginary, correspond to forms found in the text; *is* is also found before *c*, however, e.g. *Iscrye*.

cg in 1590 is represented by *-dge*. This must be a genuine Western derivation of West Saxon *sege* as the author could not have been so many hundred years ahead of his time as to invent it—like he seems to do others. It is also a valuable witness that in the Western dialect of the 16th century in verbs like *segan*, the gemmated palatal *cg* was preserved in forms answering to the 1st person singular and infinitive, and, if we may trust the text, not found in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular.

s and *f* initial are represented as *z* and *v* even in Standard words to give

'local colour' of a Western nature, e. g. *zai*, *zouth*, *volke*, *zorowe*, *zome*, *zmothe*, *vore*, *volke*, etc.

Forms like *cha* represent M.E. final *f* in unstressed syllables.

With regard to morphology and syntax. We find Western and Standard forms mingled—the former being most probably isolated attempts at local colouring like the modern dialect novel.

Western *p* in plural present indicative in *beeth* (666), 1st person plural, 3rd person plural in line 727, 988, *zaith* 3rd person plural (1166). Here, to judge from line 1590, we should expect *zedgeth* not *zaith* for *zaith*=*sagaþ* 3rd singular indicative; whilst *secgaþ* the correct plural would give us *zedgeth* on the model of *zedge* 1590. But here the pot of 'local colour' gave out. The writer may have been misled by the resemblance of Western plurals in *þ* to London 3rd singulars, and put a London 3rd pers. sing. for Western plural.

We find old negative forms not especially Western in *nynnāt* 1603, *nyll*. We also find amongst syntactical peculiarities *wee* for *us* 676, and *thee* for *thou* 690, as a levelling out of singular, thou, thee; plural ye, you, to a universal *thee*, *we*, *ye*.

An old neuter plural is found in *volke think*.

In *cha for-yet tone name*, we find the characteristic use of sing. accusative as the oblique case instead of dative, and the preservation of the old form of the article, and old gender in concord with the following noun. As the Western dialect could not have been so archaic at this time, one is led to conclude a petrified phrase.

Ill a þee, A.S. [ill] *he þeo* (may it go ill to him), is equally archaic.

The form *þe* of the past participle is preserved as *I*, and added indiscriminately to all verbs.

First, then, in the Dialect, *ā* or *āa* from M.E. *ā* occur more frequently than in the text, just as *ā* became *ā* earlier in the West and North than in Standard English.

Secondly, *ē* from M.E. *ē* was *ē* (= *ēa*?), cf. modern *i* from *īa*; thus *ē* from M.E. *ē* must have been *ē*, intermediate between the two other sounds. Before *r* M.E. *ā* and *ē* sounds merged in *ā*.

In *chwin* M.E. *ē* is found as *i*, sounded *ei*, but only before *n*.

Thirdly, M.E. *ō* becomes *ū* or *ūa*, in the text *u*, parallel to the development of *ē* to *i* or *īa*.

In this archaic Devonshire or Somerset we have:

M.E. <i>ā</i>	=	People's <i>ā</i> or <i>āa</i>	=	Modern Dialect <i>ēa</i>
" <i>ē</i>	=	" <i>ē</i>	=	" <i>ē</i>
" <i>ē</i>	=	" <i>ē</i> or <i>ēa</i>	=	" <i>ē</i>
" <i>ō</i>	=	" <i>ū</i> or <i>ūa</i>	=	" <i>u</i> or <i>ua</i>
" <i>a</i> and <i>e</i> before <i>r</i>	=	" <i>ā</i> or <i>āa</i>	=	" <i>ēa</i>

This corresponds to the Eastern section of the far Western dialect. The language in the text bears this out, e. g. *e* for *i*, *u* for *o*, *au* for *ou*, *ā* for *ār* and *ēr*.

The author's Westernisms indicate a Western origin. He was only acquainted with North Devon and Somerset dialects, and treated these as foreign. He must then have lived in the Middle West, which can only be Wiltshire or Hampshire: in the latter Udall was born.

- I trounst**, M.E. *trunsioun*, O.F. *tronchon* (Prof. Brandl), 22/652.
- I vey then**, ay, faith then, 33/1016.
- Kyxe**, kex, a dry hollow stalk, 62/1907.
- Ladidom** (new formation), 24/704.
- lyver**, deliver, 62/1911.
- Mace**, mas(ter), cf. *masse*, masship, 33/1006.
- madge mason**, mason, 22/656. *See* preceding line.
- malkin**, 22/645. *See* note.
- membre**, remember, 23/685, 37/1142.
- mot**, moght, 24/716.
- mustress**, mistress, 22/646.
- Namnot**, ne am not, 59/1824.
- nil**, ne wil, 23/693, 59/1822.
- ninnat**, I ne will not, 52/1605.
- nold**, ne would, 59/1818.
- Om**, 23/678, 24/695, 34/1050, 52/1604, 1607, 59/1806.
- ont**, for on it, 36/1084.
- Passeive**, perceive, 23/667.
- peake**, peep, 51/1582.
- peason**, peasant (*and suggested* poison), 24/702.
- perke**, give oneself airs, 59/1824.
- permounted**, ? promoted, 52/1598.
- perzente**, represent, 22/649.
- pieke**, pick, 52/1591.
- plaine me**, 'me plaindre,' 34/1040.
- policate**, polished and delicate, 24/698.
- promydenche**, predominance and providence, 23/686.
- { proute**, proud, cf. A.S. *prut*, 52/1598.
- { prowte**, 52/1593.
- Rice-pudding cake**, Respublica, 22/637, etc.
- roylled**, ruled, 23/690, 59/1811, 1818.
- Scan**, can, 23/678, 685, 34/1024, 59/1822, etc.
- scomporte**, comport, bear, 34/1030.
- sdare**, dare, 51/1578.
- shaked**, shook, 51/1586.
- shalche**, shall I, 52/1609, 62/1921.
- skitbraind**, 59/1812.
- skitbraines**, 59/1818.
- slypper**, slippery, 23/680.
- smoulte**, smooth, 24/716.
- spraie**, I pray, 33/1011.
- sqwatte**, squash, 52/1604.
- strussioners**, destructioners and constructioners, 58/1779.
- studd**, study, 33/1006.
- svele**, feel, 33/1020.
- Tall**, tale, 23/663.
- theaff**, thief, 59/1812.
- bee**, *see* evill a bee, 23/679.
- therevore**, 24/704.
- picke**, this, 23/689.
- thieke**, 52/1593.
- pieke**, this, 23/675, 686, 24/698.
- toritee**, authority, 59/1806.
- Vaine, veine**, etc., fain, 34/1028, 36/1082, etc.
- vaire**, 24/711, 38/1158, 52/1594.
- valeslye**, valorously, 22/639.
- valse**, false, 24/714, 34/1044.
- vare**, fare, 38/1161.
- vaste**, fast, 57/1808.
- vast**, fast, ultimately God's face (so Prof. Brandl), 58/1778.
- vaye**, faith, 33/1014.
- vei**, faith, 37/1140.
- vell**, fell, 51/1586.
- venter**, venture, 51/1578.
- vet**, 33/1016. *See* note.
- vey**, faith, 33/1016, 58/1779.
- virst**, first, 51/1580.
- vive**, five, 33/1021.
- vole**, foal, 34/1023.
- volke**, folk, 22/648, 24/701, 34/1036, 36/1098, 1112, 38/1163, etc.
- volowe**, follow, 37/1140.
- vor**, for, 22/649, 23/669, 670, 24/695, 702, 32/989, 33/1017, 36/1079, 1080.
- voorth**, forth, 34/1026, etc.
- vorst, vormooste**, from fore, 23/679.
- vorth**, forth, 23/672, etc.
- vortune**, fortune, 52/1597.
- vound**, found, 24/714.
- vowre**, four, 24/700, 33/1021.
- Warte**, war[raun]te (so Prof. Brandl), 22/641, 24/722, 59/1813.
- widge** (A.S. *wicg*), horse, 34/1023.

Yele, ye will, 38/1163.

Zai, say (various spellings), 22/656,
23/675, 33/1000, 36/1104, 38/1166,
52/1601, etc.

zedge, by-form of zay, 52/1590.

zee, see, 22/643, 24/704, 32/987, 52/
1612, etc.

zeen, seen, 24/713.

zelfe, self, 34/1024.

zelie, silly, 22/659, 23/661.

zembitee, ? semblity (dissemble), 34/
1044.

zette, set, 34/1026.

zilver, silver, 35/1075, 52/1600.

zix, six, 33/1021, 36/1080, 52/1601.

zmothe, smooth, 24/713, etc.

zo, **zoo**, so, 22/654, 23/666, 671, 24/

700, 706, 33/1000, 34/1026, 36/1080,
1104, 51/1580, 52/1601, 1608, etc.

zofte, adv. soft, 59/1811.

zome, some, 22/648, 24/713, 33/1011,
1017, 36/1112, 52/1613, etc.

zoone, soon, 34/1035.

zore, sore, 24/695, 51/1585.

zorowe, sorrow, 36/1083.

zorte, sort, 51/1584.

zorylesse, corruption of insolence and
translated sorrowless, 23/688.

zoure, sour, 32/991.

zouth, sooth, 22/656, 23/675.

zuche, such, 23/692, 36/1079, etc.

zware, sware, 52/1592.

zware, swear (*for* sworn), 24/703,
(*vb.*), 33/1001.

zwette, sweat, 36/1077.

GENERAL GLOSSARY.

- Abought**, about, 38/1168, 52/1618, etc.
afearde, afraid, 40/1221.
afore, in front, 14/429.
afore, before, 2/30, etc., etc.
afyne, finely, 56/1700.
againste, again, 14/416.
ai, ay, 39/1180.
aie, ay, 7/202.
all, quite, 42/1282.
all thing, everything, 15/455, 16/479, 21/609, etc.
alone, unique, 26/767, 3/81.
althing, all thing, 34/1042, 61/1872.
altogither, 46/1424.
amaigne, amain, 12/343.
amendement, 34/1029.
amices, 'squares of white linen folded diagonally, and worn by priests,' 29/872.
amickelye, amicably, 39/1199.
appaire, impair; (*peiorare*), 32/977.
appeace, appease, 39/1173.
araie toward, preparation going on, 53/1640.
aret, art, 59/1819.
attemptates, 'attentats,' 58/1792.
avoid, depart, 51/1563.
Bagged, 60/1843.
banderee, plotting, 57/1746.
bard, barred, 16/490.
Barwicke, Berwick, 50/1550.
bedlema, madmen, 36/1112.
become, suit, 38/1166.
been, 3. *pers. pl.* 46/1431.
behouff, profit, 3/76.
bisshop, *passim*.
blisse, *vb.* 44/1348.
bluddinges, black pudding, 28/852.
boulte, bolt up, 20/589.
bourde, engage in tilting, 11/331, 15/436.
bourdened, taken up as burden, 58/1764.
brode, broad, 25/744, etc.
broklettes, crumbs, 4/96.
bruted, bruited, 3/78.
brym and hotte, brimhot, 42/1281.
buisie, buisnesse, busy, 22/642, etc.
bunting, swelling, 26/770.
but, only, 38/1163.
Cale, call, 55/1689.
Callis, Calais, 26/783.
canvesse, canvas, 60/1846.
carping, prating, 25/744.
cayes, keys, 4/119.
champion, champagne, 15/448.
chops, *intr.* snap, 30/924.
chordes, cords, 59/1809.
clawback, 6/185.
clogg, burden, 50/1560.
close, closed, 14/429.
clowterie, mending, 57/1743.
clowtes, cloths, rags, 29/871.
cockes, Gods, 31/950, 61/1868.
cognisaunce, sign, 58/1293.
comons (probably means ground, fields), 44/1358.
compace, compass, 3/67, 34/1032, etc.
compares, compeers, 49/1505.
condinge, condign, 21/629.
consoulte, 20/588.
conveighe, convey, 35/1054, and *passim*.
converte, turn, 40/1214.
convinced, convicted, 45/1381.
cooste, cost, 5/152.
coppie, 16/475. *See Note*.
costodie, custody, 62/1917.
coumpace, *vb.* 34/1033, 1034, 1035, etc.
counplices, complices, 49/1515.
counsaille, counsel, *passim*.
counterfaicte, counterfeit, 14/419, *passim*.
countreie, country, 62/1927.
covent, convent, 29/885.
covetise, covetousness, 3/80, 12/352, etc.
creature, trisyllabic, *passim*.

Dearling, *daring*, 62 1923.
dedicate, *dedicated*, 15.
Denie, *Sainte*, *St. Denis*, 12 351.
derling, *daring*, 39 1202.
descerne, *discern*, 36 1110, 40 1235.
descrete, *discreet*, 61 1853.
descretelye, *discreetly*, 25 746.
descretion, *discretion*, 12 353.
deseases, *diseases*, 37 1122.
desiples, *disciples*, 6 177.
desperablie, *despairing*, 40 1230.
devise, *divide*, 30 900.
directe, *directed*, 62 1925.
double, *odr*, 44 1346.
doulfull, *doleful*, 39 1201.

Eare, *ere*, 35/1052.
earlye, *early*, 10 292, 50 1540.
eareneste, *earnest*, 21 622.
eastate, 46/1411, 49/1456, 58 1791, 62 1923.
ecche, *each*, 20, 591, etc.
echewhere, *everywhere*, 12 363.
els, *passim* for *else*.
els, *looke els*, *look to it, otherwise*, 42 1272.
emend, *amend*, 24/706, 708, 62 1872.
emendes, *amends*, 39/1173.
emendment, *amendment*, 31/971, 39/1178.
emonge, *among*, 4/124, 6/168, 9/263, 273, 19/576, 26/779.
emongst, *amongst*, 47/1441, 59/1822.
emprowde, 27/810. *See Note*.
endyte, *indict*, 49/1522.
entend, *intend*, 9/251, etc.
entent, *intent*, 19/548, 58/1765.
enveigled, *inveigled*, 45/1377.
er, *erstwhile*, 42/1269.
er, *ever*, 29/884, 46/1414.
ere, *erstwhile*, 16/472, 22/657, 23/670.
ery, *every*, 43/1328.
ever, *always*, 43/1331.
everychone, *Everych one*, 3/59, 27/820, etc.
evisdropper, *eavesdropper*, 42/1300.
extent (*sale under compulsory powers*), 27/811.
extracites, 4/100. *See Note*.

Facion, *fashion*, 6/187.
faire, *fairly*, 31/942.
fall edge, *fall aside*, 48/1467.
farther, 62/1918.
feale, *feel*, 20/601.

fealowe, *fealows*, 25 741.
feare, *fear*, 53 1635.
feate, *feat*, 3 79.
ferme, *farm*, 37 799.
ferre, *far*, 20 503, 21 627, etc.
ferther, *farther*, used as verb to *farther*, 61 1884.
ferther, *farther*, 43 1315.
ferthing, *farthing*, 62 1906.
festinacion, *speed*, 18 524.
fett, *fetch*, 17 517, 18 524, 40 236, 54 1803, etc.
fifth, 29 861.
flaterabundus, 6 183.
fliereth, *deer*, 6 185, 23 681.
florent, *flourishing*, 15 441.
flowre, *flour*, 57 1734.
flyce, *fleece*, 4 102, 6 174, 27/821.
flyghth, *flieth*, 42 1294.
flytched, *cut up into strips*, 27/794.
flyxe, *flick, thief*, 62 1908.
for, *as for*, 49 1504, 53 1644.
forgeve, *forgive*, 11 328.
forre, *for*, 63 1937.
forwardnes, 25 728.
fower, *four*, 54 1663.
fowertie, *forty*, 34/1036.
fowre, *four*, 27, 825, 827.
fraie, *present of afraid*, 16/475.
freend, *friend*, 38/1157.
frend, *friend, passim*.
frewte, *fruit*, 25 732.
fructe, *fruit*, 50/1532.
fyfte, *fifth*, 27/801.

Gaude, *gewgaws*, 54/1651.
gawdies, *pretences*, 57/1755.
geare, *arrangement, mechanism*, 10/289, 27/813, 51/1571, etc. etc.
geate, *get*, 28/848, 55/1676, 62/1891.
gentman, *gentleman*, 35/1067.
gette, 28/850.
geve, *give, passim*.
ghostlye, *spiritual, geistlich*.
gobbet, *morsel*, 27/796.
goddamighties, *God-almighty*, 31/952.
goddigod, **goddygod**, 3/59, etc., 53/1636, *God give ye good [day]* (Prof. Brandl); **goddigod eve**.
goe, *gone, go and gone* are alternative forms as adverbs, 8/239.
gosse by, *by God, so 'Cock'*, 11/315.
govermente, *government*, 59/1817.
grone, *groan, passim*.

grosserie, grossièreté, grocery, 57/1745.

grumle, 3/82. See Note.

grutche, variant of grudge, *passim*.

gubbins, parings, 4/98.

gyptian, Egyptian, 39/1194.

Ha, have, 51/1561, 1562.

hake, Northern dialect expression of defiance, 8/249, 27/826.

hale, hall, 55/1695.

hale, haul, 25/751.

harde, hard, 57/1749.

harde, heard, 13/368, 16/476, 35/1051, 39/1202, 40/1222, 45/1367, 48/1490, etc.

hardelye, steadily, 28/853.

harte, heart, *passim*.

have after, follow, 31/951.

heale, health, 22/637, 62/1891.

heare, hair, 30/928, 929, 54/1650.

heare, her, 31/942.

heare, here, 6/164, 177, 10/306, 15/452, 20/589, 21/614, 41/1264, 53/1632, etc.

hede, heed, 13/398.

her, here, 43/1316.

here, hear, 12/349, 35/1055.

herke, hark, 16/480, etc.

hether, hither, 32/985, etc.

hey, hay, 30/902.

hir, her, 4/108, 109, and almost everywhere.

hir, here, 35/1057.

holsome, wholesome, 18/528, 46/1420.

holydome, halidom, 12/357, 41/1256.

hongre, hunger, 44/1343.

hongri, hungry, 24/698.

hooe, who, 16/481.

houge, huge, 45/1373.

hucking, haggling, 55/1676.

hunderd, hundred, 27/792, 31/956.

hundred, 47/1434.

hundreth, hundred, 7/226.

Ialousie, jealousy, 3/86.

iavels, rascals, 9/264.

ientilman, gentleman, 53/1623.

ientle, gentle, 31/940.

ieoperde, jeopard, 52/1606.

in continent, incontinently, 44/1359.

intresse, interest, 29/858.

ist, is it, 16/471, 22/645, 38/1150, 43/1313, etc.

Kye, key, 5/156.

Laie on lode, is lain on the load, 30/901.

laisure, (at) leisure, 25/737.

learning, teaching, 28/849.

leat, let, 2/56.

leate, let, 57/1754.

lese, lose, 4/106.

lest, least, 12/360.

lett, let (hinder), 6/189, 17/516.

livelood, 30/925, 60/1848.

lo, look, 40/1219.

losell, vagabond, 53/1620.

lowtes, make somebody a lout of, mock him out of it, 29/870.

Lucifer, 20/581, 62/1914.

lyege, liege, 34/1027.

lynnen, linen, 29/871.

Mallis, malice, 56/1729.

manier, manner, *passim*.

manye, mannye, many, 12/348, etc.

masship, mastership, 27/814, 28/842, 35/1053.

matier, matter, *passim*.

mell, meddle, 23/693, 38/1150, 48/1466.

membre, limb, 46/1415.

mo, moo, more, 20/582, 31/955, 41/1249, etc.

mome, blockhead (dialectical word), 12/348.

mone, ? read moone, 26/759.

moothed, mouthed, 50/1535.

mote, mote of dust, 19/564.

mought, might, 8/244.

mued, mowed, 30/903.

myserie, miserliness, 57/1744.

Naughtie, 59/1800.

near, nigher, 24/711.

ner, ner, 6/189, 18/538, 22/650, 652, 33/1014, 41/1256, 54/1646, 59/1818, 60/1855.

ner, near, *comp.* 60/1820.

nere, near, 29/887, 45/1393.

nere, near, *i. e.* nearer, 18/543, 26/777, 29/886, 60/1821, etc.

nere, never, 42/1294, 55/1672, 60/1856, 61/1883.

nie, nigh 58/1794.

niecknames, 59/1536.

niene, nine, 28/846.

nomynacion, an eccles. term, 14/428.

nones, nonce, 17/517.
not where, nowhere, 53/1632.

Od, odd, *passim*.

of, off, 17/491, 23/667, 26/762, 57/1755, etc.

ones, once, 10/284, 17/518, 60/1837.

ons, once, 15/460, 17/509, 40/1228, 45/1395, 48/1467, 1479, etc.

or, ere, 31/947, etc.

oughe, owe, 9/274.

Painfull, painstaking, 37/1129.

pardee, par Dieu, 38/1166, 42/1300.

pashe, passion, 62/1908.

passhe, passion, 54/1645.

passhen, passion, 26/786.

pece, piece, 4/96.

pepe, peep, 26/769.

perfeite, perfect, 61/1890.

perfitte, perfect, 10/281.

perfytte, perfect, 45/1396.

persans, Persians, 15/447.

persecuted, pursued, 60/1861.

perswasion, *passim*.

pestell, 14/409, 42/1288, etc. Also

Pestle. See Note.

pieke, pick, 51/1570.

piekpurse, pickpurse, 41/1246,

1247, 1250, 58/1768.

pielouries, pillories, 41/1250.

piepe, peep, 15/421.

pitcherie, begging with a pitcher
 (a Northern custom), 57/1741.

plounge, plunge, 62/1903.

poke, pocket, 60/1844.

poore, pour, 57/1735.

porte, bearing, 11/310.

poure, power, 9/255, 47/1409.

powre, pour, 57/1737.

praies, preys 4/98.

pranketh, dresses out, forces out,
 58/1797.

preast, i. e. pressé, 19/548.

prest, pressé, 48/1479.

preste, pressé, 56/1710.

pretelye, prettily, 34/1026.

prospiritee, prosperity, 33/1008,
passim.

provestes, provosts, 60/1849.

puissaunce, power, 44/1358.

pyne, a merry pin, 20/594, pin,
 violin-peg.

Quadrible, quadruple, 18/537.

quaisie, nice, fastidious, 43/1321.

qualified, moderate, reform, 31/941.

quike, quick, 75/459.

Rahated, for rabated, beaten back,
 12/364.

rake, rake up, 3/82.

rather, earlier, 6/107.

raught, pp. reach, 50/1548.

reade, rede (advise), 38/1159, 53/
 1635.

reast, rest, 26/757, 27/797.

recured, 46/1415.

redowne, redound, 19/570, 37/1133.

relived, relieved, 35/1064.

remembre, *passim*.

renne, run, *pres. for pp.* 33/1001.

renne, run, 30/906, 53/1631, 54/1659.

restorytee, (?) restorative on model
 of authority, 29/889.

rewine, ruin, 20/599.

rewle, rule, *passim*.

rome, room, 27/790.

roste, rule the roast, 5/136, etc.

roune on heade, run headstrong ~~g~~,
 12/362.

rowme, room, 9/258.

rumbling, rumbling, 9/263.

Sectourship, 29/864, 866. See Not. ~~te~~.

seens, for sens, adverbially, ~~sin~~ ~~ance~~
 then, 18/532.

selie, silly, 31/942.

sens, since (already), 52/1599, 5 ~~57~~/
 1730.

sens, since, 51/1565.

sente, scent, 6/164.

shales, shells, 25/726.

sharinges, shearings, 3/94.

shewete, ? read shwete, 4/108.

shiere, shire, *passim*.

shrewe, curse, 43/1303.

shriddinges, cf. shred, 4/102.

shwere, swear, 54/1649.

sindons, eccles. term wrappers, 29/
 873.

skambling, be rapacious, turbul ~~ent~~,
 11/318, 29/869.

skeymishe, squeemish, 9/278.

skrinke, shrink, 48/1477.

slabbe, lick up, 28/853.

slake, slack, 54/1646.

sluttishe, dirty, 28/853.

smale, small, so spelt always except
 34/1035.

softe, *adverbially*, 9/261, 18/542, 27/826, 42/1289.
solfe, Sol Fa (spell), 14/410.
sometime, sometimes, 24/702.
sometyne, sometimes, 61/1870.
soo, so, 2/45, etc.
soondred, sundered, 45/1397.
sors, sores, 32/983.
sowte, sought, 39/1188.
spaignel, spaniel, 12/340.
spill, destroy, 60/1860.
spittle, hospital, 60/1849.
spounge, sponge, 62/1904.
sproong, sprung, 56/1705.
staigh, stay, 15/457.
stalge, stay (state), 25/735.
sterve, starve, 37/1120.
sware, swear, 37/1131.
syens, since, 26/764.
syys, since, 11/319.

Taduenture, to adventure, 48/1468.
tainter hooks, tenterhooks, 50/1550.
tales, tales, 25/727.
tamende, to amend, 2/54.
taspire, to aspire, 62/1914.
tassaille, to assail, 9/251.
tentreate, to entreat, 1/3.
texamine, to examine, 62/1919.
texercise, to exercise, 39/1188.
teverye, to every, 62/1905.
thabuses, the abuses, 2/50.
thactours, the actors, 1/5.
thalbes, the albs, 29/872.
thalter, the altar, 29/872.
than, then, 2/35, 5/146, 7/226, 9/276, 11/322, 327, 328, 13/389, 20/586, 588, 21/623, 22/593, 649, 23/683, 685, 24/719, 722, 25/727, 738, 27/813, 29/892, 30/910, 31/932, 950, 33/1014, 34/1024, 35/1054, 1066, 36/1095, 1098, 37/1041, 1120, 39/1098, 41/1256, 42/1282, 1286, 43/1333, 44/1375, 47/1452, 49/1516, 50/1549, 1555, 1556, 51/1553, 1582, 55/1694, 59/1714, 1803, 60/1847, 62/1901.

thandes, the hands, 9/276.
thargumente, the argument, 1/15.
tharmes, the armes, 26/783.
that, what, 2/54, 15/439, 61/1865.
theare, the ear, 42/1273.
theare, there, 5/159.
theffecte, the effect, 25/725.
then, than, 3/78, 5/156, 10/288, 17/

519, 23/659, 25/749, 26/772, 37/1134, 1137, 38/1170, 46/1427, 51/1589, 52/1595, 57/1734, 60/1841.
then, then, 4/113, 6/188, 13/375, 15/451, 16/194, 18/530, 536, 20/590, 33/1017, 37/1128, 40/1239, 48/1465, 52/1606, 60/1839.
thend, the end, 2/58.
thexcesse, the excess, 4/103.
tholde, the old, 2/43, 24/721, 62/1923.
thone, the one, 45/1386.
thother, the other, 24/696, 51/1573.
thrift, thriving, 32/990, 45/1382, 60/1853, etc.
thrifte, saving, 44/1343.
trihumphe, triumph, 48/1472.
throod, the rood, 34/1035.
thuncurable, the incurable, 46/1417.
thyll, the ill, 46/1418.
tigither, together, 35/1059.
to, compared with, 18/534.
together, 32/984, 47/1451.
together, 10/286, 287, 18/540, 61/1821, 63/1933.
tone, the one, 24/697.
tong, tongue, *passim*.
torne, turn, 51/1575.
tother, the other, 24/697.
tourne, turn, 50/1532, 51/1575.
toverthrowe, 58/1789.
towarde, 37/1126, 50/1552.
toyes, 16/476. *See Note*.
traine, for a, for a stratagem, for a time, 52/1603, 54/1665.
Trenitee, Trinity, 47/1436.
Tronnion, Triunion, Trinity, 55/1693.
trowe, 33/998, 54/1667. Cf. German *traum*.
tunderstaunde, to understand, 41/1455.
twygg, in sense of 'youngster,' 11/339.
twygge, pull about (Northern Dialect), 53/1630.

Until, to, 35/1062.
utmoooste, outermost, 58/1774.

Verai, **veraye**, e. g. very, *passim*.
verament, verily, 40/1233.
vouchesalve, vouchsafe, 46/1405.

Waite, weight, 10/284.
wast, was it, 42/1290.

- wealthe, wealth, welth, welfare,**
passim.
weemen, women, 48/1462.
wemme, blemish, 19/566.
weorke, work, 3/86, 24/696, 697, 25/
 734, 50/1543, 54/1648, 60/1835, etc.
wer, were.
were, wear, 26/787.
whan, when, 2/21, 9/269, 11/318, 14/
 429, 20/589, 22/651, 24/718, 29/879,
 30/938, 33/998, 34/1027, 1041, 1070,
 36/1101, 1077, 1080, 38/1149, 1172,
 39/1185, 1192, 41/1265, 44/1337,
 1343, 45/1383, 46/1417, 47/1445,
 48/1480, 50/1528, 53/1643, 55/1689,
 1691, 57/1755, 59/1823, 62/1919.
whan that, when, 30/894.
wheale, weal (blow) ? pun with weal
 (good), 6/163.
when, when, 7/218, 9/268, 10/281,
 11/329, 15/434, 28/839, 50/1535.
whether, whither, 54/1659, 1667,
 59/1811.
whoughe ! etc., Hoo ! 24/722.
howe, how, 16/475.
wincheth, Northern, by-form of
wince ; of a horse, to kick out be-
 hind, 10/284.
wink (mod. sense), 38/1164.
winke, shut the eyes, 37/1135.
wis I = I wot, 50/1539, 52/1601, 58/
 1768.
wissed, wished, 1/2.
wissed, wished, 33/1006.
woo, woe, 54/1648.
woodeness, wood (mad, *Wut*), 38/
 1172.
woomen, women, 47/1454.
woonder, wonder, 20/602.
wrong, wronged, 22/650.
wrowte, wrought, 50/1539.
wull, wool, 12/344, 23/668.
wurse, worse, 1/13, and *passim.*
Ye, yea, 37/1120.
yearth, 39/1190, 44/1361.
yearthely (earthly), 15/439.
yei, eye, 16/474.
yong, young, *passim.*
yst, is it, 12/353.
Zelousye, jealousy, 32/996, 58/1772.

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